A History of Buddhism In Nepal A. D. 704-1396

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Presented with high regards
to Dr. D. R. Regmi,
Rajendra Ram.

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Dedicated to

PROFESSOR YOGENDRA MISHRA

The pioneer historian of the history of Vaisali (वैशाली), the earliest republican state in history

and

The discoverer of Svetapura (श्वेतपुर), the place of *nirvana* (निर्वाण) of Ananda (आनन्द) and the hitherto forgotten capital of Tirabhukti (तीरभुक्ति)

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ABBREVIATION

ABORI	:	The Annals of Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona
BSOAS	:	Bulletin of the School of the Oriental and African Studies, London
DHNI	:	Dynastic History of the Northern India
EI	:	Epigraphia Indica
IA	:	Indian Antiquary
IHQ	:	Indian Historical Quarterly, Trivandrum
JAHRS	:	Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society
JASB	:	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta
JBORS	:	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna
JBRS	:	Journal of the Bihar Research Society, Patna
JBTRS	:	Journal of the Buddhist Text Research Society, Calcutta
JDL	:	Journal of the Department of Letters, Calutta
JOI	:	Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda
PAICC	:	Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference
PICO	:	Praceedings of the International Congress of Orientalists
PIHC	:	Proceedings of the Indian History Congress

DO SOMETHING WORTH WRITING
WRITE SOMETHING WORTH DOING

PREFACE

This book is the product of the author's thesis work (1964-1968) for Patna University (Department of History). Some problems of author's U.G.C. senior research fellowship in Humanities (1970-1972) have helped to provide material and ideas for this book.

The author is grateful to his guide Dr. Yogendra Mishra, Professor and Head of the Department of History, Patna University. The vastness of his learning, the vigour of his exposition, the forcefulness of his argument, impart the conviction always disseminated by a master historical mind. He is an elegant man for the author —in the clarity and coherence of his historical insight into historical problems for which he avoids historiographical cliches and dogmatisms. He is not only a great scholar, a man of enormous learning in matters of research methods, but also a subtle and enthusiastic humanist. Author learns much from his humour and wit of special orders and warmth which have created a wide range of friends and admirers in this subcontinent. This book is an humble tribute to these values practised by Dr. mishra and cherished by the author.

The father of the author, respected Sri Devanarayan Ram and the elder brother Sri Ramvilas Prasad subsidised the publication of this book. The author cannot exonerate himself from their indebtedness. The author is grateful to Sri Aswini Kumar Sinha, the proprietor of Vaishali Press for his generosity practised in printing of this book. The author is thankful to Sri Ayodhya Prasad Jha who helped in proof reading.

The author is thankful to Dr. P. D. Tripathi, Reader and to Dr. R. C. P. Sinha, lecturer in English, Patna University for their glances over the thesis manuscript and to all the late Balchandra Sharma, Gokulchandra Shastri, Dharma Ratna Yemi and Kirti Rajya Shakya for their interest in this research at Kathmandu. The author is thankful with regards to Dr. D. R. Regmi, Sri C. M. Maskay and to his beloved friend Sri Awadhesh Kumar who kept their doors open for the author.

The author is particularly indebted to the late Rahula Sankrityayana and his disciple Sri J. L. Sharma, at present Asstt. Director, Archaeology, Nepal, who inspired the author to rely on his foot while covering more than twenty thousand kilometres in the hilly regions of Nepal.

Smt. Savita Devi commands author's special thanks for her anxiety to complete this task soon.

February 1977 **Rajendra Ram**

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : SOURCES

The study of Buddhism in Nepal was started by the early British administrators serving in Nepal,[1] Brian Houghton Hodgson[2] being pioneer among them. Hodgson stayed at Kathmandu for twenty-one years (A. D. 1822-1843) and collected rich material for his Nepalese studies. In 1823 B. H. Hodgson announced that he had discovered in the libraries and monasteries of Nepal the original documents of the Buddhist canon, and from 1823 onwards a series of significant studies of northern Buddhism flowed from his pen.[3] He wrote several important articles[4] on Nepalese Buddhism. However, his two books, *Illustrations of the Literature and Religion*

1. Father Giusseppe (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. II, 1790, pp. 309-314) has given a short account of the Nepalese Buddhist rituals and shrines in travel account of Nepal; H.P. Sastri, (*Report on the Search of Sanskrit manuscripts*, 1895 to 1900, Calcutta, 1901, p. 2) states that "The curiosity of orientalists as regards the contents of the Durbar Library in Nepal was roused for the first time in 1867 when Mr. Lawrence, the Resident published a small pamphlet on the Mss. considered rare by the Pundits of Nepal."

2. R. L. Mitra (*Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1882, Preface p. xiii , states that 'Before his [Hodgson's] time all that was known of Buddhism was crude, vague and shadowy, derived from secondary and by no means reliable sources. He it was who established the subject on a sound philosophic basis."

3. P. Landon, *Nepal*, Vol. II (London, 1928), p. 214; S. C. Vidyabhusana, 'Revival of study of Buddhism', *PAIOC*, 1st Session, 1919, Vol. I, p, 66; A. Dharmapala (Presidential address to *PAIOC*, 2nd Session, 1922, p. 514) has stated that "He [B. H. Hodgson] was the first to collect the Buddhist manuscripts from the Libraries of Nepal, and the collection that he had secured he presented to the Asiatic Society in Bnngal, to the Library of Paris Museum, and to the British Museum."

4. R. L. Mitra, op. cit., Preface, pp. xii-xiii (1 Sketch of Buddhism, derived from the Buddha Scriptures of Nepal. Trans. R.A..S, vol. ii. 2 Quotations in proof of the above. Jour. R. A. S., vol. v. 3 On Buddhist Symbols, ib., vol. xviii. 6 On the Buddha Literature and Religion of Nepal. As. Res., vol. xvi. 7 Sketch of Buddhism. Jour. As. Soc., vol. Remarks on an Inscription in the Runga and Tibetan characters from Nepal, ib , vol. iv. 14 A Buddha Disputations on Caste, Trans. R. A. S., vol. III.), ib., the author has also stated that "Altogether he [Hodgson] has written 18 papers on the subject, and they are replete with most varied and instructive information. Much has been done since, but no one can even now write on Buddhism with any accuracy who has not thoroughly studied Mr. Hodgson's essays." H. B. Wood, *Nepal Bibliography* (Kathmandu, 1959), pp. 58-59, this book furnishes some new pieces of information regarding the bulk of independent monographs presented by Hodgson on Nepalese studies.

of the Buddhists[1] and *Essays on the Language , Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*[2] are illuminating for the study of Buddhism in Nepal. P. Landon came to the conclusion that "He [B. H. Hodgson] did, however, lay his finger on three main distinctions; first, that Tibet has adhered to and Nepal has rejected the old monastic institute of Buddhism; secondly, that the former is still, as a good deal hampered by it; and that lastly, Tibetan Buddhism has no concealments, while the Nepalese is sadly prone to withhold many higher matters of the laws from all but chosen vessels."[3] This shows that Nepalese Buddhism had been in close contact with the form of Buddhism prevalent in eastern Indian Buddhist centres during the early medieval period. A detailed account of Nepalese Buddhist rituals was presented by Daniel Wright in the year 1877 through his *History of Nepal with an Introductory Sketch of the country and People of Nepal*[4] done with the assistance of two Nepalese *Pandits*, Munshi Shew Shunker Singh and Gunanand. But this book is based on the oral narration of the above-mentioned Nepalese *Pandits* and as such can hardly be regarded as authentic work from the chronological point of view. Yet, its descriptive portions dealing with Nepalese Buddhist rituals and places of importance are fairly clear and have been utilised in the present work.

Inspired by the interest of the European scholars in the study of Nepalese Buddhism, Bhagwanlal Indraji in collaboration with the German scholar, named G. Buhler presented a research article[5]

1. Serampore, 1840.

2. London, 1874. It contains altogether nineteen essays, reprint of magazine articles, mostly on Nepalese subjects related to Buddhism. But there are several mistakes in presenting the subjects properly on account of the qac informants of Nepal where he took their assistance.

3. Landon, op. cit., p. 214.

4. D. Wright (ed), Munshi Shew Shunker Singh and Gunanand, *History of Nepal with an Introductory Sketch of the Country and People of Nepal* (Cambridge, University Press, 1877, now reprinted as second edition, *History of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1958)

5. B. Indraji and G. Buhler, 'Inscriptions From Nepal', *I.A.*, vol. ix, 188 pp. 163-194 The inscription of Jayadeva II provides us with a long genealogic list of the Nepalese Kings from the ancient time to the time of Jayadeva I Besides, the masterpiece literary qualities of this inscription are its beautif verses partly composed by Jayadeva II and largely composed by his cou poet Buddhakirti, who was himself a Buddhist.

which paved the way for a further and fruitful study of Nepalese history. It was for the first time that inscriptions of Nepal were used to interpret the history of Nepal in treating the role of Nepalese rulers Sivadeva II and Jayadeva II of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal. On this basis the treatment of Nepalese history by D. wright in disordered chronological framework can ably be refuted.

The publication of the book *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*[1] by R.L. Mitra brought to light several original sources lying in the Veer Pustakalaya (also called as the Durbar Library or Veer Library) of Kathmandu (Nepal). The importance of this book lies in the methodical compilation of eighty-four Nepalese Sanskrit Buddhist manuscripts originally collected by B. H. Hodgson. It also gives an interesting account of the life and career of Hodgson and of the essays on Nepalese subjects contributed by him. R. L. Mitra has stated in his Preface that "the opinion of the illustrious savant, Eugene Burnouf, in regard to one of Mr. Hodgson's paper is equally emphatic. In his introduction to the *History of Buddhism*, he says, in the *Asiatic Researches* for the year 1828 was contained a dissertation by Mr. Hodgson, full of ideas entirely new regarding the languages, literature, and religion of Nepal and of Tibet; and this first essay contained also an account of the different philosophical schools of Buddhism, which has never since been surpassed or equalled"[2].

By publishing a short account of the history of Nepal[3] based on the *Inscriptions From Nepal*, B. Indraji and G. Buhler presented a good example of Nepalese studies in the year 1884.

Two years later the curiosity for the Nepalese manuscripts was further aroused by Professor Cecil Bendall's account of his journey in Nepal and Northern India.[4] Although the primary object was the acquisition of the Sanskrit manuscripts for the Cambridge University

1. The Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1882.
2. R. L. Mitra, op. cit., Preface, p. xiii.
3. B. Indraji and G. Buhler, 'Some Considerations on the History of Nepal'; *I. A.*, Vol. xiii, 1884, pp. 411-428 (also published as *Twenty-three Inscriptions from Nepal; Together with some Considerations on the Chronology of Nepal*, Bombay, 1885, Translated from Gujarati).
4. C. Bendall, *A Journey in Nepal and Northern India* (Cambridge, 1886).

Library,[1] a good deal of attention was also paid to the study of the Nepalese inscriptions.

Six years later, Sarat Chandra Das, one of the explorers who visited Tibet in 1879, 1881 and in 1884, discovered a Tibetan Ms. in the Library of the Grand Lama of Lhasa which concerned with the life of Dipankara Srijnana Atisa. On the basis of this and the other findings S. C. Das published his book *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*[2] which opened new avenues for Buddhistic studies. He points out that after the departure of Dipankara Srijnana to Tibet in A. D. 1040-41 Buddhism in Bengal began to decline on account of internal neglect and external political troubles. He states that while the Buddhist Bhikshus af Bengal turned their attention to the study of Tantras the Turks invaded Buddhist centres of learning in eastern India.[3] He adds that the Indian Buddhist monk-scholars and Bhikshus fled away from India during the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. This book reveals very close relations among India, Nepal, Tibet and China and shows that an era of mutual exchange started after the Muslim invasions of India. Mass migration of Indian Buddhists to Nepal as a result of these invasions led to the enrichment of Nepalese Buddhism.

However, in regard to the life and career of Dipankara S. C. Das had held wrong views in calling Atisa, a Bengali[4]. The statement that "Buddhism was diffused to the remote parts of the world by zealous and ardent teachers, and not by fugitive Buddhists from India"[5], is equally erroneous if examined in terms of relations of the the Indian Buddhist centres with the northern Buddhist countries of Nepal, Tibet and China. His observations on the question of the Muslim invasions and their plundering nature either in eastern India or far north in Mongolia may be challenged on the basis of

1. C. Bendall, *Catalogue of the Buddhist Sanskrit Manuscripts in the University Library, Cambridge, with Introductory Notices and Illustrations of the Palaeography and Chronology of Nepal and Bengal* (Cambridge, 1183).

2. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, edited by N. C. Das with a Preface (Calcutta, 1st ed., 1893), reprinted in 1965 published by Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, with an Introduction by N. C. Sinha.

3. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

4. S. C. Das, op. cit., reprinted edition, N. C. Sinha, Intr. p. vii (he says that "The term Bengali used for Atisa and many other scholars from eastern India will not be appropriate".)

5. Ibid., p. 24.

the interactions of the creative historical forces of mutual exchange and the changing mode of human society[1]. In his treatment of this subject "the presentation was much in anecdotal pattern and no modifications were made at the time of publication"[2].

In the year 1894 H. P. Sastri drew our attention towards the Nepalese studies through his two important articles[3] and emphasised over the significance of the *Svayambhupurana* as an original source for an understanding of Nepalese Buddhist faith. Three years later he went to Kathmandu which he revisited the very next year with Professor Cecil Bendall. During his trips to the valley of Kathmandu H. P. Sastri obtained much information on the Nepalese Buddhist studies which he has described in his report[4] published in the year 1901.

Meanwhile, two important works on Buddhism *Buddhism in Tibet or Lamaism* by L. A. Waddell[5] and *Manual of Buddhism* by H. Kern[6] came out to unveil several new aspects of northern Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet.

1. S. C. Das, op. cit., Intr. P. vi (N. C. Sinha states that "The actual effect of the wars of Chengiz was the creation ef a world trade under Pax Mongolica leading to a concept of world market. Caravans from Sarai to Karakorum moved as safely as those between Sakya and Kambalu. Buddhism itself constituted a commodity in such movements." Besides, the force of migration as a result of the Mnslim invasions of eastern India led to "an active liaison berween some Siddhas of eastern India and the mystic saints in Tibet" [and Nepal]).

2. S. C. Das, op. cit., Intr. p. ix, (N. C. Sinha has stated that "This book presents the four lectures which Sarat Chandra Das gave for the educated but not the spocialist type of people". p. iii, Intr.)

3. H. P. Sastri, 'Notes on the Svayambhupurana', *JBTRS*, Vol. II, pp. 33–37; 'A Note on the Sunyata Philosophy of the Northern Buddhists', *JBTRS*, Vol. II, pp. v, vi. Besides, a detailed account of the contributions of H. P. Sastri has been given by N. N. Law ('Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Sastri', 1853—1931, *IHQ*, Vol. IX, No. 1, pp. 307—416) in Haraprasad Sastri Memorial Volume of the Indian Historical Quarterly of the year 1933.

4. H. P. Sastri, *Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895 to 1900)* (Calcutta, 1901).

5. London, 1895, reprinted in 1959.

6. Strassburg, 1896. H. Kern has drawn our attention towards the Nine Dharmas of Nepalese Buddhism originally coined by him on the basis of Hdngson's papers. But in fact there is nothing like Nine Dharmas. Actually they are famous as nine Buddhist scriptures of Nepal,

In 1897 H. P. Sastri published his article 'Notes on Palm-leaf Manuscripts in the Library of H. E. the Maharja of Nepal'[1], andt here he discussed the Buddhist tantric work *Vimalaprabha*, a commentary on the *Kalachakratantraraja*. In 1899 his short notices ('On a Manuscript of the *Ashtasahasrika Prajnaparamita*, written in Nalanda and discovered in Nepal',)[2] proved that the centre of gravity in case of the Buddhist scriptures shifted from Nalanda to Nepal because of Muslim invasions of eastern India.

The result of the labours of H. P. Sastri during his previous trips to Nepal came to light in 1905 when his book (*A Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper Mss. Belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, with A Historical Introduction* by Cecil Bendall, Vol. I)[3] was published. Its Prefaces, Introduction and a detailed description of manuscripts are useful in understanding the scope, nature and literary contributions of Nepalese Buddhism. The same year, an eminent French scholar, Sylvain Levi published his well-known book *Le Nepal*[4] in three volumes on the history and culture of the people of Nepal. His work is so exhaustive that even now it is peerless. Most of the later scholars on Nepalese subjects have either translated S. Levis' portions or have summarised them in their works.

A monumental work called, *The Modern Buddhism and its Followers in Orissa*[5] by Nagendranath Vasu with an Introduction by Haraprasad Sastri was published in 1911. It helped us much in identifying and tracing the origins and nature of several aspects of Buddhist ideas of Nepal during the early medieval period.

1. *JASB*, 1897, pp. 310–316.

2. *JASB*, 1899, pp. 39, 40.

3. Calcutta, 1905. Its another part Vol. II was published in 1915. Recently complete Catalogues of the Palm-leaf manuscripts and the Paper Manuscripts preserved in the Veer Pustakalaya and the Nepal Rashtra Pustakalaya have been publihsed by His Majesty's Government of Nepal in Devanagari script comprising several volumes. In this connection several Catalogues of inscriptions and other relevant sources have also been published.

4. S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, in 3 volumes (1905-1908). However, we have utilised their type-script English translation (rendered originally by the author himself while staying in Nepal) in three volumes preserved with the late Kaiser Sumsher (His personal library at Kathmandu, in the Kaiser Mahal, opposite to the Narayan Hitti Durbar).

5. Calcutta, 1911.

The study of Nepalese Buddhism also received attention in the All-India Oriental Conferences. In the first conference in 1919 S. C. Vidyabhusana[1] pointed out the importance of the Buddhist literature of Nepal by suggesting the scholars to revive the study of this subject on a larger scale. The same year H. P. Sastri showed the value of work of the Buddhist *siddhacharyas* in an article[2]. He stressed on the significance of the *Bauddha Gan O' Doha* composed and sung by the *siddhacharyas*. In his opinion these *siddhacharyas* moved as the free-lance singers of *Dohas* concerning the daily life of the poor and down-trodden sections of society.

In 1921 was published the well-known book *The History of Indian Logic : Ancient and Medieval*[3] by S. C. Vidyabhusana. It is a treatise based on the primary sources and deals also with the biographical details of the ancient and medieval Indian scholars. Many of them were the Buddhists of India who went to Nepal and Tibet. The main works of the Buddhist-trio (Santarakshita, Padmasambhava and Kamalasila) have been discussed with the help of the books like this. The same year Sir Charles Elliot published *Hinduism and Buddhism*[4] in three volumes. Like B. H. Hodgson, Elliot held that numerous elements are common to Hinduism and Buddhism. He reviewed the position of Nepalese Buddhism during the period covered by the present study and emphasised that it was a degenerate form of religion comprising extreme tantric cults. The Newars who formed the Buddhist intelligentsia, are held by Elliot similar to the Tibetans in physical features, language and other daily-life activities, but he thinks that like the non-Aryans they attempted to find for themselves a Hindu pedigree.

In the year 1932, Anagarika Dharmapala,[5] as the President of All-India Oriental Conference held at Calcutta reemphasised the view of S. C. Vidyabhusana regarding the study of Nepalese Buddhism. He stressed the importance of the work of B. H. Hodgson and

1. S. C. Vidyabhusana. 'Revival of study of Buddhism', *PAIOC*, 1st Session, 1919, pp. 61-68.

2. H. P. Sastri, 'Literary History of the Pala Period', *JBORS*, Vol. V, Part II, 1919.

3. Calcutta, 1921.

4. London, 1921, Vols. I, II, and III.

5. *PAIOC*, 2nd Session, 1922, pp. 517-534.

inspired the Indian scholars in its further study. One year after, P. N. Bose brought out *Indian Teachers of Buddhist Universities*[1], which soon became popular among the orientalists next only to the *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* by S. C. Das. P. N. Bose's book provides us with a detailed biographical account of the Indian Buddhist monk-scholars in a categorical way. The same year a long article[2] was published by K. P. Chattopadhyaya. Although based on the anthropological findings, some of its portions prepared with the help of the T'ang Annals have given reliable material for studying the Nepalese Buddhist society of the early medieval period. The caste system organised and established by Jayasthitimalla was studied by Chattopadhyaya. He believes that there is no difference between the caste system imposed by Jayasthitimalla and the one that was present when Chattopadhyaya was treating the subject in Nepal.

In 1924 appeared J. N. Samaddar's book *The Glories of Magadha*[3] which showed that during the early medieval period Magadha had busy centres of learning where the Nepalese and Tibetan monk-scholars flocked to acquire higher Buddhist knowledge. But on account of the Muslim invasions of eastern India during the beginning of the thirteenth century A. D. the glories of Magadha passed away with the mass flight of the Indian Buddhists to Nepal and other places. We may note that Nepal served the fugitive Indian Buddhists with a shelter which later became an important resort of Buddhist learning. Therefore the Buddhists of northern Buddhist countries beyond the Himalayas avoided coming to Indian Buddhist centres and preferred to visit Nepal where they could meet Indian Buddhist monk-scholars living under the patronage of the Nepalese Buddhists and the laymen followers.

For a long time the scholars kept on saying that the Buddhist faith in Nepal was already corrupt. It had been imported to Nepal as a result of the Muslim invasions of India. But no attempt was made

1. Madras, 1923.

2. 'An Essay on the History of Newar Culture', *JASB (Letters)*, Numismatic Supplement, 19 : 465-560, 1923, New-Series, Vol. xix, No. 10.

3. (The Patna University Readership Lectures, 1922, Patna, 1st ed., 1924, 2nd ed., 1927).

to bring out an authentic text which might substantiate these generalisations. In the year 1925 B. Bhattacharyya helped the students of tantric Buddhism by publishing *The Sadhanamala*[1] which contained one hundred and forty-two *Sadhanas*. "From this source we also have come to know that the Buddhists busied themselves with producing a variety of literature on the Tantras, and during the tantric age [i. e., from the eighth century A. D. to the fourteenth century A. D.] thousands of works were composed. These works were readily transmitted through the Himalayan passes [via Nepal] to Tibet, Mongolia, and thence to China and Japan. Their influence made a large section of the population in these countries believe in gross magic and superstition."[2] Besides, "several *Sadhanas* (Nos. 171 to 190) devoted to the worship of *Kurukulla* in a variety of forms, (Nos. 194 to 196) to the worship of *Mahapratisara*, (No. 197) to *Mahamayuri*, (No. 198) to *Mahasahasrapramardani*, (199) to *Mahamantranusarini*, (No. 200) to *Mahasitavati*, the last five being the famous *Panchamaharaksha* deities. These deities are popular in Nepal and every devout Buddhist is required to keep a Ms. of *Pancharaksha* in which directions to worship these goddesses along with their appropriate Mantras are given."[3] Thus the publication of these *Sadhanas* proved that although tantric Buddhism originated in eastern India, it was nourished and maintained by the Nepalese Buddhists. In 1926 a monumental work *Tattvasamgraha of Santarakshita with the Commentary of Kamalasila*[4] edited by Ember Krishnamacharyya with a Foreword by B. Bhattacharyya (gen. ed.), was brought to light. In this book Santarakshita established his intellectual superiority by criticising all non-Buddhist philosophers in a convincing way. "The credit for all that *Tattvasamgraha* achieved and contributed to the development of philosophy, logic and other kindred subjects must be given to the University of Nalanda, for both Santarakshita and Kamalasila were its alumni"[5]

1. B. Bhattacharyya (ed.), *The Sadhanamala*, Vol. II (Baroda, 1925).
2. Ibid., Intr. p. xviii.
3. Ibid., Pre., p. v.
4. E. Krishnamacharyya (ed.) *Tattvasamgraha of Santarakshita with the Commentary of Kamalasila* with a Foreword by B. Bhattacharyya (gen. ed.) (Baroda, 1926).
5. H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda* (Madras, 1934), p. 83.

who later visited Nepal to enlighten it with their learning. The manuscript of *Tattvasamgraha* was obtained from Nepal where its copies and commentary in original are still present.

In 1928 B. Bhattacharyya wrote an article "The Date of the Bauddha Gan O Doha"[1] and stated that the period from the eighth century A. D. to the twelfth century A. D, was the main period of the *Siddha* literature. During this period Buddhist ideas were enriched with several new trends under the supervision of the *Siddhacharyas* who travelled widely from Magadha and Bengal to Nepal, Tibet and other Buddhist countries lying adjacent to the Himalayas.[2] In Nepal these *Siddhacharyas* were very homely. The role played by them is still cherished. Another work published this year was *Nepal*[3] in two volumes by P. Landon. Although mainly based on the well-known account with a pro-Rana bias, this gives a summary of several previous works and provides us with some materials on Nepalese Buddhism. At one place the author of this work remarks that "deeply as Indian traditions and Indian superstitions have affected the Buddhism of the Tibetans they would be scandalized at any charge of apostasy. In Nepal the Newars have accepted with Asiatic placidity a large number of establishments of their earlier ritual and additions to their pantheon".[4] This would suggest that Buddhism like an octopus engulfed all the existing cults in Nepal by accepting their rituals and practices. On this basis the Buddhists of Nepal contributed to the development of Nepalese culture which nurtured several material conditions created by the gifts and religious donations of the Newaris, the laymen Buddhist followers in Nepal. The same year was published an important Tibetan biography by W.Y. Evans-Wentz called *Tibet's Great Yogi: Milarepa*.[5] This Tibetan yogi flourished during the eleventh century A. D. and worked life long

1. B. Bhattacharyya, 'The Date of Bauddha Gan O Doha', *JBORS*, vol. xiv, Part III, 1928.

2. N. C. Sinha (Intr. to *The Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, p. vii) states that "Active liason between some Siddhas of eastern India and the mystic saints in Tibet is now accepted as historically true."

3. P. Landon, *Nepal*, Vols. I and II (London, 1928).

4. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 212.

5. London, 1928.

for the cause of Buddhism. He served the people living in the interior hilly regions of Nepal. This work draws our attention to the growing importance of Nepal in the expansion of Buddhism.

In the year 1931 Rahula Sankrityayana published *Buddhacharyya*[1] (Hindi) with a scholarly introduction in which he proved that the great Brahmanical philosopher Sankracharya flourished after Santarakshita. He attributed the cause of decline of Buddhism in eastern India not to the religious crusade launched by Sankracharya but to the Turkish invasion. The same year appeared H. C. Ray's book *The Dynastic History of Northern India: Early Medieval Period*, vol.I[2], in which he touched the religious and social aspects of Nepal, although it did not satisfy the needs of Nepalese study in connection with Buddhism. It remained as a book of general interest regarding Nepal. However, the book published by R.G. Basak, called *The History of North-Eastern India* (c. 320-760 A. D.)[3], three years later proved to be much valuable. Basak made use of the Nepalese inscriptions discovered and deciphered by B. Indraji and G. Buhler, C. Bendall and S. Levi. Another work of a different value published the same year (1934) was that of H. D. Sankalia, who presented a research work on *The University of Nalanda*[4]. The views introduced by S. C. Das and supported by S. C. Vidyabhusana and P. N. Bose in respect of the Buddhist monk-scholars and their intellectual activities were simply assimilated and enlarged by H. D. Sankalia in his book. The role played by the Buddhist-trio, Dipankara Srijnana and other scholars in furtherence of Buddhism in Nepal has not been touched. Besides, he has nothing to say about the *Siddhacharyas* although several of his predecessor scholars wrote a lot about these Buddhist mendicants many of whom had their working ground and training at Nalanda.

P. C. Bagchi published in 1935 an article[5] largely based on the Nepalese and original Tibetan sources exclusively devoted to the

1. Kashi, 1931.
2. Calcutta, 1931.
3. Calcutta, 1934 (We are concerned with the chapter XI, pp. 239-302 only of this book that deals with Napal).
4. Madras, 1934.
5. P. C. Bagchi, 'Dohakosa (with notes and translation)', *JDL*, Vol. xxviii, 1935, pp. 1-80.

Dohas of the Buddhist *Siddhacharyas*. This article showed that the Buddhist *Siddhacharyas* were not only free lance singers but also were scholars and reformers. They denounced the intellectual sovereignty of the Sanskrit language and patronised the popular *Apabhramsa* language spoken by the common flok. "Towards the end of the eighth century a new religious movement started in northern and eastern India and gradually engulfed the whole country and developed close connection with foreign countries also."[1] It was the movement of the *Siddhachatyas* whose "cult was a great religious syncretism. It was the culmination of the tantric movement in which Hinduism and Buddhism had mingled."[2] A year after came R. Sankrityayana's Hindi book called *Puratattva-nibandhavali*.[3] This book first of all provides us with a comprehensive chart of the eighty-four *Siddhas* whose account was prepared by the author on original Tibetan sources. It contains sufficient material for surveying Nepalese Buddhism and estimating the impact of the *Siddhacharyas* on it. The same year K. P. Jayaswal contributed an article[4] which presented a new aspect of the history of Nepal. It showed that as early as A. D. 1349-50 Illyas-Shah of Bengal had invaded the hill-locked valley of Kantipura where he desecreted the Brahmanical and Buddhist shrines alike and caused serious damages to the shrines of *Svayambhunatha* and *Pasupatinatha*. It was after this Muslim invasion of Nepal that the Nepalese aristocracy and the tribal leaders of the hilly regions learnt a lesson and as such a regrouping of powers[5] started under the leadership of Jayasthitimalla. Shocks and panic of this Muslim invasion of Nepal, however, cast a shadow over the Buddhists who were enjoying shelter there. They also realised the danger and became vigilant to

1. Buddha Prakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilization* (Agra, 1965), p. 265.

2. Ibid., p. 273.

3. Allahabad, Ist ed., 1936, 2nd ed., 1958, 'Vajrayana Aur Chaurasi Siddha', pp. 99-109.

4. 'An Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal', *JBORS*, Vol. XXII, Part II, 1936, pp. 81-95.

5. S. K. Saraswati, 'Shamsuddin Illyas Shah's Invasion of Nepal', *PIHC*, 19th Session, 1956. Also see A. H. Dani's article 'Shamsuddin Illyas Shah, Shah-i-Bangalah, in *Sir Jadunath Sarkar Commemoration Volume*, Vol. II. edited by H. R. Gupta (Hoshiarpur, 1958), pp. 50-58.

their literary wealth which they always kept with them. Henceforth they became active and started thinking in terms of moving to northern centres of Buddhism in Tibet and farther Mongol lands which they later visited.

In 1938 P. C. Bagchi contributed another article[1] devoted to the well-known songs of the *Siddhacharyas*, called the *Charyagitas*. This proved that the *Siddhacharyas* were fairly popular in eastern Indian Buddhist centres of Nepal and Tibet. "The fact of the popularity of the *Dohas* and *Charya* songs [of the *Siddhacharyas*] over a wide area will be evident also from the influence of the *Dohas* and songs over the regional literatures of India during the medieval India."[2] In this way, these songs, being the reflections of the day-to-day activities of the common folk of the period became the songs of the poor and the down-trodden sections of eastern Indian society.

Regarding the period of these *Siddhacharyas* Shanti Bhikshu has stated that "After Harsha, from the 8th to the 12th centuries A. D., in that period of the *Siddhas* the [Tantric] practices were openly accepted and adopted"[3]. This view had long before been heralded by R. Sankrityayana that the *Siddhacharyas* flourished roughly from the eighth century A. D. to the twelfth century A. D. The philosophy which they presented through their *Dohas* and *Charyapadas* was called *Vajrayana* and its followers were called the *Vajrayanists*. This subject has been discussed in detail by S. B. Dasgupta in his book, *Obscure Religious Cults*. In this direction R. Sankrityayana presented an authentic work, *Dohakosa of Sarahapada*[4] retranslated and edited by him from the original Tibetan text and has also added a scholarly introduction and thought provoking pieces of information regarding the editorial variations. It was the work of the well-known *Siddhacharya*, Sarahapada, the

1. P. C. Bagchi, 'Materials for a critical Edition of the Old Bengali Caryapadas', *JDL*, Vol. xxx. 1938, pp. 1-156.

2. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, Ist ed., 1946, 2nd ed., 1962), p. 6.

3. Shanti Bhikshu, 'The Advent and the Development of Tantric Elements in Buddhism', *PIHC*, Vol. II, 16th Session, 1951, p. 491.

4. Patna, 1957.

pioneer composer of the *Siddha* verses. Several scholars[1] wrote to stress the importance of these free lance scholars of Buddhism.

The *Siddhacharyas* were opposed to the stereotype writing and singing meant to record the eulogies of the kings and feudal lords of early medieval India. They belonged to he poor strata of society. They had inherited the social background of the common people. Their songs reflected their contemporary society.

The study of an eminent Italian scholar, Luciano Petech, who published several articles[2] based on the Tibetan sources, has been very useful to us. He has suggested the year A. D. 704 as the most important one which marks a landmark in the history of Nepal and which is the starting point for our work. Petech's work gives valuable information regarding Nepalese Buddhism and its relation with Tibetan Buddhism.

G. N. Roerich, the well-known Russian scholar and artist published in 1949 *The Blue Annals*, Part I.[3] "In the historical

1. A. Haldar, 'Philosophy of the Charyagitas', *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. 140, No. 3, 1953, pp. 264-275; S.B. Dasgupta, Charyapada Ki Sandhya Bhasha' (Hindi), translated from the original Bengali, by Srinarayan Pandey, *Parishad Patrika* (Hindi) (Patna), Vol. I, No. 4, 1962· *The Stateman*, Calcutta, 1963, 25-26 April (in this daily parper the late S. B. Dasgupta, on the basis of his trip to Kathmandu in 1963 where he surveyed the Charyapadas, has confirmed the popularity and availability of these songs in Nepal), S. B. Dasgupta, 'Charyapada Men Varnita Darṣanika Tattva', op. cit., Vol. III, No. 4, 1964; A. Majumder *(Caryapadas* with a Foreword by S. N. Ray, Calcutta, 1967) mentions that 'The short but vivid, accounts given in several of these poems were all tales of sorrow and privation. When every effort for a happy and peaecful life was foredoomed to failure, it was therefore natural for the religious leaders to enjoin a life of renunciation upon the lay people" (p. 76). Nepal cannot be imagined to have escaped these conditions described in the songs of these *Siddha* poets.

2. L. Petech, 'A Study of the Chronicle of Ladakh', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. xv, Nos. 1-4, 1934. Publications of these articles fulfilled a long-felt want since coming out of the equally valuable books *Anitiquities of Indian Tibet*, Part I (Delhi, 1914), and Part II in 1926 and *A History of western Tibet* (London, 1907), by A. H. Francke. The study of these works combined with independent monographs on Nepalese subjects reveals that majority of scholars devoted their activities to the cities of the valley and have ignored the rest part of the country of Nepal.

3. G. N. Roerich (translator and editor) *The Blue Annals*, Part I (Calcutta, 1949), Part II (Calcutta, 1953).

literature of Tibet the 'BLUE ANNALS' or Deb-ther snon-po (the full title of the chronicle is : Bod-kyi yul-du chos-dan chos-smra-ba Ji-ltar byan-ba'i rim-pa Deb-ther snon-po or The Blue Annals, the stages of the Appearance of the Doctrine and Preachers in the Land of Tibet) occupy a place apart[1]. For present study it presents an authentic account of the activities of the Tibetan Buddhist *Bhikshus* visiting Nepal for studying higher Buddhist philosophy. Besides, it also refers to several other events in connection with the life and activity of the Indian and Nepalese Buddhist *Bhikshus* which enabled us to check up the pieces of information obtained from other sources.

In the year 1950, P. C. Bagchi published *India and China*,[2] which touches on Nepal's role in promoting Buddhism in Tibet and China. The masterpieces of Nepalese art presented by Aniko, an artist of Nepal, influenced the art patterns of Tibet and China then ruled by Khubilai Khan.[3] The same year came out *Natha Sampradaya*[4] (Hindi) of Hazariprasad Dwivedi which has enabled us to examine the approach of the well-known *Nathapanthi* saints Matsyendranatha and Gorakhanatha towards the religious problems in Nepal during the second half of the ninth century A. D. and the beginning of the tenth century A. D.

From 1946 to 1962 as many as seven works on Nepalese study were published. In 1956 the Italian scholar R. Gnoli published *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*[5] in which he revised the readings of the Nepalese inscriptions originally deciphered by B. Indraji and G. Buhler and later utilised by C. Bendall and S. Levi. From the relevant inscriptions of our period we have taken up the names of several Buddhist *Samghas* and *Viharas* which we could

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part I, Intr. p. 1.

2. Bombay, 1950

3. E.O. Reischauer and J.K. Fairbank (ed.), *East Asia : The Great Cultural Tradition*, Vol. I (London, 1960). Also see H. Hoffman, *Religions of Tibet* (London, 1961), where the author has described the interrelations among Nepal-Tibet and China.

4. Allahabad, 1950; V.W. Karambelkar, 'Matsyendranatha and His Yogini Cult, *I.H.Q.*, Vol. xxxi, No. 4, 1955, pp. 362-374. The view held by Briggs regarding the date and work of the pioneer *Natha* saints has been revised and recast in context of Nepal.

5. R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*, Part I (Text); Part II (Plates) (Rome, 1956).

identify to have been revived during our period. Next year D. L. Snellgrove, a scholar of Tibetan working in the London School of Oriental and African Studies, published *Buddhist Himalaya*[1]. Although mainly an anthropological study, it is useful for the study of medieval Buddhism. In 1958 Luciano Petech brought out his book *Medieval History of Nepal (750-1480)*.[2] The chronological sequence in the present work is based on this book. In 1959 G. Roerich, the son of the well-known Russian scholar and artist, G. N. Roerich, published a valuable work *Biography of Dharmasvamin*[3] which opened a new chapter in the history of Tibet, Nepal and India. Like Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese monk-scholar and pilgrim of the first half of the seventh century A. D., Dharmasvamin, the Tibetan monk-scholar and pilgrim provides us with a detailed account of the religious, social and political conditions of India, Nepal and Tibet during the period from A. D. 1226 to 1236. He describes in detail the Buddhist rituals and shrines of Nepal where he stayed for complete eight years, i.e, A. D, 1226-1234, 1936.

A German scholar, Helmut Hoffmann, published his book *The Religions of Tibet*[4] in 1961. In spite of its title it is of great help in understanding Nepal-Tibet-China relations and the part played by Indian and Nepalese Buddhist monks in this respect. This book is more up-to-date and authentic than the *Lamaism* of L. A. Waddell, and has used seversl new manuscripts bearing on the history of Nepal and Tibet. The same year D. L. Snellgrove published another

1. London, 1957. Mainly it is a travel account and in this connection some inquiries have been made over Buddhism in Nepal which are superfluous ones.

2. Rome, 1958. A review of this book has been made by T. V. Mahalingam in *The Journal of Indian History*, Vol. xvxvi, Part III, 1958, S. No. 108, pp. 448-449. The reviewer has suggested an interesting scheme of periodisation for writing the history of Nepal as follows :

(i) Lichchhavi and their successors (c.A.D· 400-750);

(ii) The Thakuris and early Mallas (c. 750-1480);

(iii) The Three Malla Kingdoms (c. 1480-1768) and

(iv) The Gurkha Dynasty (from 1768).

3. Chos dar, *Biography of Dharmasvamin*, deciphered and translated by G. Roerich with an Historical Introduction by (gen. ed.), A. S. Altekar (K.P.J. Research Institute, Patna, 1959).

4. H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet, translated* by E. Fitzgerald from the original German into the English language (London, 1961).

book *Himalayan Pilgrimage*[1] which was also the result of his anthropological survey of western Nepal. But it is superior than his former work *Buddhist Himalaya.* In this work he has collected mine of information regarding Buddhism in the western region. He concludes that during the earlier period when Lamaism advanced from Tibet and neo-Buddhism from the valley of Nepal to that region, there resulted a mixture of religious cults which is still held up in the traditions and day-to-day activities of the people. Next year, the well-known scholar and Tibetologist, Giuseppe Tucci published his work, *Nepal : The Discovery of the Malla*[2] in which he establishes the identity of a new branch of the Mallas different from those who were ruling in the valley. They were the Khasiya chiefs and on the evidence of the Dullu steles[3] he states that a syncretic religious cult was prevalent in western Nepal during this period. This piece of information fills an important gap in the non-political history of Nepal and combined with other accounts it gives us a coherent picture of Buddhism in Nepal. Enquiries made by L. Petech in respect of the Khasiya invasions (A. D. 1287-88, 1313 and A.D. 1328) under the leadership of the Khasiya chiefs have their grounds in Tucci's indications to the importance of this region of Nepal. Indeed conditions changed in the valley as a result of these invasions which opened the door of western Nepal also for outside influences and the people from that region started visiting the valley.

A book published in 1967 by Alaka Chattopadhyaya entitled *Atisa and Tibet : Life and Works of Dipankara Srijnana in Relation to the History and Religion of Tibet* with Tibetan sources translated under Professor Lama Chimpa[4], gives a detailed account of the great Buddhist monk-scholar of India, named Dipankara Srijnana Atisa. This book enables us to know the original contributions of Atisa

1. London. 1962. Valuable portions of this are the tables of place names in western Nepal with editorial variations and scholarly notes and rare maps.

2. London, 1962. Six years before a book related to this subject published was, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal* (Rome, 1956) in which he has given detailed account of his visits to western Nepal and has examined those findings in historical perspectives.

3. G. Tucci *(Preliminary Report*, pp. 43-130*)* gives the detailed account of the Dullu Stele,

4. Calcutta, 1967.

to the Buddhist ideas of Nepal where he wrote his work *Charya Samgraha Pradipa*. It is the first detailed biography of this Indian Buddhist monk-scholar who stayed and worked in Nepal for complete one year A.D. 1041.

Last but not the least important are the works of the Nepalese scholars who have written on the subjects related to our work. As early as the year 1942 D.R. Regmi's article[1] presented a short survey of the sources for writing the history of Nepal, mainly based on the previous works of the Nepalologists. However, original sources lying in Nepal did not get proper treatment in that survey. No light has been thrown on the methodology and use of the sources for writing Nepal's history. Above all Regmi draws our attention to the wrong readings of the Nepalese inscriptions made by the European scholars. After eighteen years came to light his book entitled *Ancient Nepal*[2] in which he surveyed the works done on Nepal known so far to him. His thesis *Political and Economic History of Nepal (from the earliest time to A.D. 1800)*[3] presented to Patna University for the degree of Ph. D., however, contains some points of political and economic importance for the study of the early history of Nepal. But many religious and social aspects have not been examined well although they have found a place in it. A commendable work entitled *Nepali Rashtriya Mudra (Nepali)*[4] of S.M. Joshi was published in the year 1962. This book has some matters for co-relating certain pieces of information regarding the religious syncretism in Nepal. In 1965, D.R. Regmi published another work entitled *Medieval Nepal (early medieval period 750-1530 A.D.)*, Part I[5] which may be regarded better than all his works on Nepal. The portions dealing with the problems of the Karnata King's role in the history of Nepal, Jayasthitimalla and his social and religious reforms are not adequate and well-written. D. R. Regmi's other book entitled *Medieval Nepal (source materials for the*

1. D.R. Regmi, 'Sources for the History of Nepal', *JBORS*, Vol. xxviii, Part I, 1942, pp. 24-42.

2. Calcutta, 1960.

4. Ph. D. Thesis, No. 79, Vol. II, Patna University Library. The thesis contains two volumes, Vol. I consists of the printed book *Ancient Nepal* with three pages type-script pasted in it and Vol. II is an independent one as cited.

5. Kathmandu, 1962.

6. Calcutta, 1965. Vol. II of the this book deals with the period, A.D. 1530-1768.

history and culture of Nepal 740-1768 A.D. : inscriptions, chronicles and diaries etc.)[1] provides us with the texts of Nepalese inscriptions deciphered so far, the texts of the *Vamsavalis* and other relevant sources in Devanagari character. The texts of the *Vamsavalis*, although originally classified and arranged by C. Bendall, were not sufficient. This want was fulfilled by the publication of Regmi's book though its twenty-one page errata is a problem. On the basis of this book we examine some enquiries obtained by other sources. Many pieces of information supplied by literary sources have been corroborated by those of the *Vamsavali*.

The preparation of the book has involved considerable field-work in Nepal. The author has made several trips to Kathmandu and visited the interior hilly places such as Surkhet, Dullu, Banskot, Kalikot, Nagma, Simja, Litakot and Jumla in the Karnali regions of western Nepal; Butwal, Tansing, Dumrichaur, Belwa, Baglung, Sikha, Dana, Tukcha, Syang, Muktinath and Kagbeni of the middle sector Nepal; Naldom (Chisapani), Devapur, Sipa, Chautariyabazar, Falam-Sanku, Dam, Jaljirabazar, Yanglakot, Chhang-Ching, Dam, Chhaksam, Nenam and Benepa-Dolakha-Namche regions of northern Nepal and Panthar (Limbuan area) of Kirat in eastern Nepal. In course of these trips to various places in Nepal the author was able to collect much valuable information, part of which is of a different nature from that of G. Tucci, D. L. Snellgrove and C. Furer Von-Haimendorf who had made several wrong observations regarding the subject of Buddhism in Nepal.

Out of this large number of works, we get no book solely devoted to Buddhism in Nepal. Although we came across many works dealing with the different aspects of this subject, they hardly throw light on Buddhist philosophy of Nepal. Besides, books concerned with the Buddhist rituals, monastic life and several secular aspects of their society also were not there. The author has tried to present an understandable image of Buddhism in Nepal under the limitations mentioned so far.

1. Calcutta, 1966.

CHAPTER II

KINGS AND PREACHERS (A. D. 704-786)

SECTION I

KINGS : Creation of an Atmosphere for Religious Toleration in Nepal (A. D. 704-759)

The period from A. D. 704 to A. D. 759 had been significant in the history of Nepalese Buddhism regarding the role played by the Lichchhavi rulers of Nepal. They were the devout Saivas, but they made liberal donations to the Buddhist *viharas* of Nepal. Their religious policy was largely influenced by the Buddhist monk-scholars which led to the creation of an atmosphere for the religious toleration for the growth and progress of Buddhism in Nepal. Although their main intention was to help the Saiva shrines, their liberal attitude towards the Buddhist centres and the visiting monks to Buddhist centres contributed a lot to the propagation and stabilisation of Buddhism in Nepal.

The Year 704 A. D. : A Landmark in the History of Nepal

The year 704 A. D.,[1] which is the starting point of our inquiry, saw an outburst of the patriotic feeling in the history of Nepal. Two years before, in A. D. 702[2] the Tibetans, under the leadership of their king, Kin-Ling, had interfered with the northern regions of Nepal, which was ignored by the Nepalese side, probably because of the lack of resources. But in A. D. 704 a trial of strength took place in a battle in which the Tibetans were given a crushing defeat and their king was killed in it.[3] But no effort has been made so far to give an account of this event in detail because of the paucity of materials. On basic of the Nepalese sources, it has been suggested[4] that Sivadeva II was the real hero of this battle who succeeded in freeing Nepal from the clutches of Tibet.

1. L. Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicle of Ladakh,' *I. H. Q.*, Vol. xv, No. 1. 1939, p. 60; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I [Dacca, 1943], p. 93; D. R. Regmi, [*Ancient Nepal*, Calcutta, 1960, p. 162] puts A. D. 705 as the year of this momentous event without giving historical evidence.

2. L. Petech, Op. cit.; R. C. Majumdar [ed.], op. cit.; V. A. Smith [*The Early History of India*, London, 4th ed., 1924, reprinted in 1957, p. 381] and D. R. Regmi [Op. cit.] are in favour of A. D. 703 without quoting any source.

3. L. Petech, Op. cit., p. 59.

4. D. R. Regmi, Op. cit., p. 163.

Śivadeva II and Nepalese Buddhism : A. D. 704-750

The fact that Sivadeva II, a king of the Lichchhavi dynasty, freed his country from the Tibetan yoke in A. D. 704, brought an international prestige to him. The Maukhari king of Kanauj, named Bhogavarman, now thought of giving the hands of his daughter Vatsadevi in marriage to the king of Nepal. Sivadeva II took advantage of this opportunity and he strengthened his position by marrying "the illustrious Vatsadevi, who was the daughter of king Bhogavarman, the crest jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the Maukhari dynasty, so rich in strength of arms, and was the granddaughter i. e., daughter's daughter of the great Adityasena, king of Magadha[1].

The matrimonial alliance[2] between the Lichchhavis of Nepal and the Maukharis of Kanauj enhanced the power of Sivadeva II in Nepal in many ways. Through this Bhogavarman, Amsuvarman's sister's son, whose daughter Vatsadevi (daughter of Adityasena's daughter) was married to Sivadeva II, we find a matrimonial union between the two royal families (the Lichchhavis and the Thakuris) of Nepal[3]. Besides, this relation created strong wellwishers of Sivadeva II in the royal houses of Magadha and Kanauj in India. Above all, it marked a restoration of the Lichchhavi glory with widespread prosperity in political and cultural sphere[4]. "There was also an end of the process of double rule now that the Thakuris had sunk themselves into disrepute, so that free from domestic and external dangers, Nepal could record a high level of prosperity as in

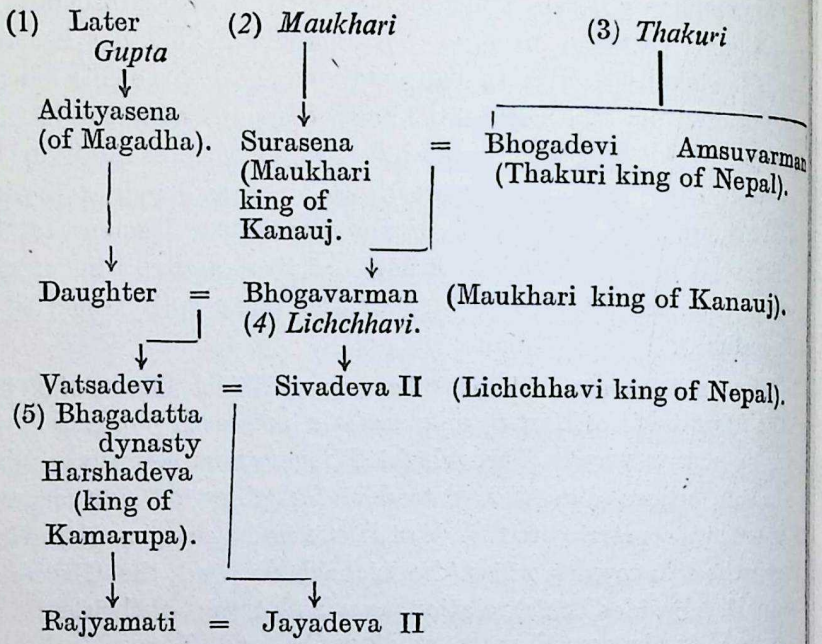
1. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, 'Inscriptions From Nepal', No. 15-Inscription of Jayadeva, dated Sriharsha Samvat 153 = A. D. 759, *I.A.*, Vol. ix, 1880, p. 178 (Verse 13) ; 'Some Considerations on the History of Nepal', *I. A.*, Vol. XIII, 1884, p. 428; R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters. Part I (Text)* (Rome, 1956), No. Lxxxi, p. 116 (Verse 13).

2. H. C. Ray (*The Dynastic History of Northern India*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1931, p. 192); R. G. Basak (*The History of North-Eastern India : C. 320-760 A. D.*, Calcutta, 1934, p. 270); R. S. Tripathi (*History of Kanauj*, Delhi, 1st ed. 1957, reprinted in 1964, pp. 193-194) and Buddha Prakash (*Aspects of Indian History and Civilisation*, Agra, 1965, p. 102) have pointed out the importance of this matrimonial alliance. We have given above the English translation of Verse 13 of Indraji's Inscription No. 15 as done by R. G. Basak (Op. cit., p. 270 who has also quoted the text in original on the same page).

3. R. G. Basak, Op. cit., p. 290; D. R. Regmi, Op. cit., p. 167.

4. D. R. Regmi, Op. cit., p. 166.

the time of Amsuvarman."[1] The following genealogical tree makes the various relationships clear[2].



Having achieved success in foreign affairs and established a peaceful regime at home, Sivadeva II ventured to rebuild Nepal economically. He tried to develop his country by emulating the example of his Thakuri predecessor, Amsuvarman and brought agricultural reforms by means of irrigation[3]. In this way he accomplished a great task by removing the evil effects of the Tibetan rule over Nepal and of the war that followed in course of the liberation of Nepal from the Tibetan yoke. Like a practical statesman, Sivadeva II intelligently brought the Tibetans closer to the Nepalese people through the medium of trade and commerce facilities introduced by him. This is evident from an inscription which he issued in A. D. 725[4]. Herein he laid down that five load-carriers should be reserved

1. D. R. Regmi, Op. cit., p. 166.

2. We have included here also 'Sivadeva's son's relationship with the Kamarupa King in order to make this tree complete.

3. D. R. Regmi, Ibid., p. 167.

4. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, Op. cit., Inscription No. 12—Inscription of Sivadeva, dated Sriharsha Samvat 119=A. D. 725, *I. A.*, Vol. IX, p. 175 (Verse 23); R. G. Basak, Op. cit., p. 265; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxvii, p. 108. R. Gnoli reads it as Harsha Samvat 109=A. D. 715.

for assistance to the Tibetan transport service[1]. It means that these five load-carriers were appointed with special purpose in order to give an additional help to the tradesmen transacting their business *en route* to Lhasa from Nepal and *vice versa*. The facilities extended to the Nepal-Tibet trade and commerce enterprise improved the material conditions of Nepal. This trade link between Nepal and Tibet encouraged the Nepalese artists and craftsmen engaged in Buddhist art-productions. They could now get suitable markets for the sale of the commodities of their arts and crafts in northern Buddhist countries beyond the Himalayas *via* Tibet.

So far as the spread of Nepalese Buddhism is conderned, the policy followed by Sivadeva II had been a significant one. The inscriptions of Sivadeva II that are of importance from the point of view of Nepalese Buddhism are three in number as indicated below :

(i) Lagantole Inscription of Sivadeva II, dated Harsha Samvat 119 (=A. D. 725)[2].

(ii) Pasupati Inscription of Sivadeva II, dated Harsha Samvat 143 (A. D. 749)[3] and

(iii) Yengu Bahal Tole (Patan) Inscription of Sivadeva II[4] (date broken away and lost but similar to Pasupati Inscription of Sivadeva II).

1. Indraji, Op. cit., (Verse 16); R. G. Basak (Op. cit., pp. 265–266), puts 'porter' as the meaning of '*bharika-jana*' while Indraji gives 'load-carrier'. Even these days this term survives in *bhariya* used in Nepal where it means coolie.

2. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, 'Inscriptions from Nepal', No. 12—Inscription of Sivadeva, dated Sriharsha Samvat 119, *I. A.*, Vol. IX, 1880, pp. 174–176; R. Gnoli, *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters, Part I (Texte)* (Rome, 1956), No. Lxxvii, pp. 107-108.

3. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, Op. cit., No. 13—Inscription of Sivadeva, dated Sriharsa Samvat 143, pp. 176-177, R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxiii, pp. 99-101. R. Gnoli reads it as inscription of Narendradeva issued in Harsha Samvat 103 (=A.D. 709) and claims that it is confirmed by the inscription No. 20 of Levi. But S. Levi also reads it merely upto '*devah*' (ibid., verse 3, fn. 1) which is common to both i e., Narendradeva and Sivadeva II. We prefer the latter as given by Indraji and Buhler.

4. R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxiv, pp. 102-104, R.G. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India (c. 320-760 A.D.)* (Calcutta, 1934). p. 264 (Sylvain Levi xx The Yag Bahal Inscription of Sivadeva II, date broken away and lost). Basak writes that this record is almost exactly similar in form to the Inscription No. 13 (Indraji) of the same king, Sivadeva II.

Sivadeva II issued his first inscription in A. D. 725 [Incised on a black stone-slab now situated in modern Vishnu temple in Lagantole, Kathmandu. A carved relics representing *Nandin* reclining on the *Kailasa* adorns the top]. This inscription records the permanent grant, according to *bhumichchhidranyaya*[1], of a village (Vaidyagrama) as an *agrahara*[2] made for the betterment of religious merit of his parents and of himself by *Paramabhattaraka-maharaja-dhiraja* Sivadeva, who was favoured by the feet of (his) *Bappa* (father), to the congregation of the *Pasupatas* named Vasu-(*Vamsa*) *Pasupata-charyyas* for the sake of the deity, *Sri Sivadevesvara*, dedicated by himself, for making provision for repair of his temple. The king commands the headmen of the village and its householders to pay henceforward all kinds of taxes and other royal dues to this congregation whom they should obey in respect of all work they have to perform. The only condition regarding this grant is that this granted village shall have to discharge an annual obligation for a supply to the tradesmen of five 'load-carriers'[3] (*bharika-jana*) for the *Bhotta* transport service (*Bhottavishtihetoh*[4]). The *dutaka*[5] in this transaction was *Rajaputra* Jayadeva.

The most important aspect of this edict was a condition for the village that was imposed upon the villagers with regard to an annual obligation of five load-carriers for the supply to the tradesmen engaged in the Nepal-Tibet transport service. This last clause of

1. D.C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi, 1966), p. 58. The literal meaning of this term is "the maxim of fallow land, the principle of the rent-free enjoyment of land by one who brings it under cultivation for the first time. The maxim is based on the old custom of allowing a person, who first brings a plot of fallow or jungle land under cultivation for the first time to enjoy it without paying rent."

2. Ibid., pp. 10-11. This term means 'a rent-free village'. But here it will mean *'deva-agrahara'* (rent-free village in the possession of deity).

3. R.G. Basak, Op. cit, p. 266. He has translated this term as 'porter'. Bhagvanlal Indraji's has translated this term as "load-carrier" (*I.A.*, Vol. IX, p. 175, Verse 16.)

4. D.C. Sircar, Op. cit, p. 379. Here *"vishti"* means labour which the villagers were obliged to provide to the king on occasions; it also stands for "unpaid labour, forced labour".

5. Ibid., pp. 103-104. It means "messenger, conveyer of a request or message...But the *Dutaka* seems to have been responsible for putting the document and also perhaps the gift land in donees' possesssion. There are instances of more *Dutakas* than one."

the edict involves an interesting point which later became highly advantageous to the Nepalese Buddhists engaged in trade and commerce. Although this grant of village was made for the maintenance of *Sri-Sivadevesvara Mahadeva* and the Saivas living around the deity, the clause inserted in it served the purpose of bringing the Tibetans closer to the Nepalese people through the medium of trade and commerce. No doubt, in doing so Sivadeva II was imbued with the idea of economic recovery of Nepal exploited much by the foreign rule of the Tibetans. Nevertheless, this immensely helped the progress of the Buddhist faith in Nepal, because the laymen's Buddhist society constituted out of the Newari[1] business community was directly benefited by this clause of the edict. It also won the liberal and sincere support of the Tibetans who were attracted by the Buddhist faith spreading fast in their country. In this way an unhindered exchange of commodities and sale of Nepalese goods in Tibet and *vice-versa* provided enough opportunities for the mutual understanding on the religious level. In another way it was the Buddhist faith common to both sides that influenced several secular aspects of their daily life. The Buddhist monasteries supported by the laymen's society in Nepal prospered much and they grew richer. The Nepalese Buddhists were thus encouraged to revive their religious relations with Tibet by visiting that country frequently. So far as the Indian Buddhist society is concerned, they had already good relations with it on account of the marital relations established by Sivadeva II.[2] Hence, Nepal proved to be a suitable meeting point between India and Tibet from the point of view of the Buddhist faith.

The second inscription of Sivadeva II had been issued in A. D. 749[3]. [Incised on a stone outside the southern gate of the enclosure of the temple of *Pasupati*. Linguistic characters of the epigraph agree closely with those used in the inscriptions of the first half of

1. *I.A.*, Vol. XXII, 1893, p. 293. A.L. Waddell has pointed out the important fact that "pre-Lamaist Newaris were the originators of the so-called Nepalese form of Buddhism". Naturally they should play the main role for the sake of Nepalese Buddhism during this period.

2. D.R. Regmi, Op. cit., p. 167.

3. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, Op. cit, p. 176; R.G. Basak, Op. cit., p. 266; R. Gnoli, Op. cit. pp. 99-101. R. Gnoli reads it as belonging to the king Narendradeva and gives Samvat 103=A.D. 709,

the eighth century A.D. The reading of the date (143 Samvat) seemed doubtful even to Bhagvanlal Indraji. The second numerical symbol might also be read as 20 or 30].

It records the grant of a village made by *Paramamahesvara, Parama-bhattaraka Maharajadhiraja* Sivadeva[1] (the king's name being illegible in the lacuna in line 3) to the fraternity of the Buddhist monks residing in the *Sivadeva-vihara* (monastery founded by Sivadeva). The king directs that this grant should not be violated by his subjects. They should obey this *Aryasangha* in respect of all matters relating to it. It is a voluntary command or direct order (*svayam-ajna*)[2] of the king and *Bhattaraka* Sivadeva was himself the *dutaka*. The name of the place of issue of the charter is broken away and lost.

In course of describing the location of the *Sivadeva-vihara* it has been stated in the inscription that near this *Vihara* stood the *Vidurika-vihara*.[3] This shows that *Vidurika-vihara* was already present before the foundation of this *Sivadeva-vihara*. Moreover, the construction of the *Sivadeva-vihara* and the village grant made exclusively for its welfare after A. D. 725 with a long gap and that too with a special purpose of financial help to the Buddhist monks of Nepal, shows the eventual progress made by Nepalese Buddhism. It was because of the rising tide of the Buddhist faith in Nepal that the king had to make arrangement for the special state help to it. In this situation Nepalese Buddhism prospered much and its adherents could take steps for its expansion outside.

The third inscription of Sivadeva II is undated.[4] It is Sylvain Levi Inscription No xx, called the *Yag Bahal*[5] Inscription of Sivadeva II. This record is almost similar in form to the (Indraji) inscription No. 13 of the same king, Sivadeva II. This epigraph was issued by *Parama-mahesvara-paramabhattaraka-maharajadhiraja* Sivadeva (using the other usual epithets, *Bhagavat-Pasupati-battaraka-padanu-*

1. D. C. Sircar, Op. cit., p, 236. He states that it means 'a devout worshipper of *Mahesvara* (Siva), epithet of Saiva rulers."

2. Ibid. p. 12. It has been "taken to mean that the king employed no *dutaka* to convey the details of his grant to the local officers, but that he gave the details in person."

3. Indraji and Buhler, Op. cit., p. 176 (Verse 15).

4. R.G. Basak, Op. cit., p. 264; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., p. 102.

5. R. Gnoli (Op. cit., p. 102) calls it 'Yengu Bahal'.

grhita, Bappa-padanudhyata Lichchhavikulaketu) from the residence, named herein as *Bhadradhivasabhavana* (as also in No. 13). It is an address to the villagers etc. of the village *Gullatangagrama* about the grant made to the fraternity of Buddhist monks coming from all directions and residing in the *Sivadeva-vihara*. The special privileges of the donees are mentioned in detail. There is an allusion to *Manadeva-vihara* and other monasteries[1] in it. The part of the name (the element Siva) of the king is lost in the epigraph.

It appears from the epigraphic record that *Sivadeva-vihara* had become a famous place of Buddhist pilgrimage. Consequently increasing importance of Buddhism inspired the king to make an additional village grant for the welfare and maintenance of the visiting Buddhist pilgrims coming from different places to this *Vihara*. Besides, there are allusions to sevrral Buddhist *Viharas*, in the inscription, *viz.*, *Sri Manadeva-vihara*, the *Kharjurika-vihara*, the *Yama-vihara*,[2] the *Abhayaruchi-vihara*, the *Varta-Kalyana-gupta-vihara*, the *Chaturbhalatasana*[3]*-vihara*, and the *Sriraja-vihara*. Mention has also been made of the *Chaturdis Aryabhikshusangha* and the *Aryasangha* in connection with the *Sri Sivadeva-vihara*.[4] This reveals that these *Viharas* were active centres of Buddhism in Nepal. Assisted by the tolerant king Sivadeva II the Nepalese Buddhist *Viharas* could form a good link with northern Buddhist countries. These *Viharas* of Nepal proved to be the bulwarks of Buddhist organisation serving the cult at different levels in the Nepalese Buddhist society.

Regarding the personality of Sivadeva II, it has been stated that "to Narendradeva was born his son, the lord of the earth, named Sivadeva II, who was rich and charitable and who conquered his foes, protected his people, removed the distress of the good, delighted his relatives and always spoke the truth."[5] As the last

1. R.Gnoli., pp. 102-103. Names of several Buddhist *Viharas* are clearly found in this epigraph.

2. R. Gnoli, Op, cit., p. 103. Gnoli gives it as [*madh*] *Yama vihara*.

3. Ibid., This is Gnoli's reading which appears to be wrong. The reading of Levi as *'Chaturbhalankasana'-vihara* is correct which the author notes in the foot-note.

4. Ibid., p. 102 (Verses 10-11)

5. Indraji and Buhler, Op. cit., No. 15—Inscription of Jayadeva, Sri-Harsha Samvat 153, pp. 178 (Verse 12), 181; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxxi, p. 116 (Verse (12).

inscription issued by him is dated A. D. 749, we presume that he died in A.D. 750 and was succeeded by his son, Jayadeva II, the last known king of the Lichchhavi dynasty of Nepal. We first notice him as the *dutaka* of a grant in the inscription dated 119 Harsha era (=725 A.D.)' where he is named *Rajaputra* Jayadeva.[1] In the mutilated inscription of Sylvain Levi, No. XIX in which we find reference to a piece of information about labour people *(Vishti-manushya-sambandha)* and tradesmen carrying on business in the royal court *(Rajkula-vyavasayins)* the *dutaka* is *Rajaputra*. Jayadeva[2]. This *Rajaputra* Jayadeva is identical with his namesake mentioned in the inscription of A.D. 725.

Jayadeva II and Nepalese Buddhism : A. D. 750-759

Jayadeva II came to the throne in A. D. 750. We do not come across specific contribution during his time made to the cause of Nepalese Buddhism. Of his inscriptions only two deserve mention from our point of view :

(i) Manjughosha or Minanatha Inscription of Jayadeva II issued in Harsha Samvat 145 (=A. D. 751)[3] and

(ii) Pasupati Inscription of Jayadeva II issued in Harsha Samvat 153 (=A.D. 759).[4]

The first inscription of Jayadeva II was issued in the Harsha Samvat 145 (=A. D. 751). It is a mutilated inscription. [Incised on a stone near a water-conduit in the neighbourhood of the temple of Manjughosha or Minanatha in Lalitapattana, at present called Lalitapur or merely Patan.]

The first part of this epigraph, recording the name of the place whence it was issued and that of the king who was the grantor, is broken away and lost. It was probably a charter issued by Jayadeva II and the *dutaka, Yuvaraja* Vijayadeva, was the former's son and

1. Indraji and Buhler, Op. cit., No. 12—Inscription of Sivadeva, pp. 175 (Verse 23), 176; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxvii, p. 108 (Verse 23).

2. R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxxii, p. 120 (Verse 16).

3. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, No. 14—An Inscription dated Sri Harsha Samvat 145, Op. cit., pp. 177-178; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxx, pp. 113-114.

4. Indraji and Buhler, No. 15—Inscription of Jayadeva, Sri Harsha Samvat 153, Op. cit,, pp. 178-183; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., No. Lxxxi, pp. 115-119.

not the second son of Sivadeva II as presumed by Fleet, who took the latter to have been the grantor; for, there can be but one *Yuvaraja*[1] (heir-apparent) of a king. In this connection we cannot endorse the view of Bhagwanlal taking the *dutaka* Vijayadeva as 'vicarious' name of Jayadeva II, and the latter's father Sivadeva II, as the grantor.

It appears from the contents of the epigraph that there occurred some incidents of disturbance among the people for the use of a *Tilamaka*[2] (water-course) which was probably the gift of a *Kumari* (princess ?). The king with the purpose of removing further disturbance created by bad people promulgated this order that in future the disturbers should be dealt with in the *Rajakula*. The grantee was directed to look after the repair work of the *Tilamaka* out of the income of the granted village. It was further ordered that the *Tilamaka* should be used by several *Panchalikas*[3] after it had been divided into seven parts. We may suggest at this stage that this disturbance was caused because of religious bickerings prevailing among the Buddhist and Hindu people or, the overcrowded habitations near the water course. It also shows that Lalitapattana or Patan was facing a serious type of water scarcity.

The second inscription of Jayadeva II, dated Harsha Samvat 153 (=A. D. 759)[4] was the *Pasupati* inscription. A detailed description of this inscription has been provided by R. Gnoli as indicated below :

"Slab of stone, about 109 cm. wide, standing behind the bull or *Nandi*, opposite to the western door of the temple of *Pasupati*. The top of the stone is decorated with lotus and buds. Date Samvat 159".[5] This inscription provides us with an exhaustive list of the kings of the Lichchhavi dynasty showing their notable achievements and

1. D.C. Sircar, Op. cit., p. 387. It is a "designation of the heir apparent or crown prince".

2. Ibid., p. 340. This term stands for "a water course, probably a channel leading the waters from the hillside over the terraced fields".

3. Ibid., p. 230. It means a "*Panchayat* board or its members".

4. R. Gnoli, Op. cit., p. 115, No. Lxxxi. He has given Harsha Samvat 159=A.D. 765. But we have preferred the date given by Indraji and Buhler which is Harsha Samvat 153=A.D. 759.

5. R. Gnoli, Op. cit.

matrimonial alliances with the Maukharis of Kanauj and the later Guptas of Magadha.

In respect of the accomplishments and virtues of Jayadeva II, his court poet, Buddhakirti[1] describes him as liberal, self-respecting, far seeing, polite, learned, helpful to the virtuous and strong.[2] He married the princess Rajyamati, who was the daughter of king Harsha, the lord of Gauda, Udra, Kalinga and Kosala, who "crushed the heads of his hostile kings the club-like tusks of rutting elephants."[3] As a noble descendant of Bhagadatta's royal line, Rajyamati must have been a princess of the Kamarupa dynasty.[4] In this way these alliances fostered a new grouping of powers which classed the ruling dynasty of Nepal with the noble dynasties of India.[5] In matters of political sway of Jayadeva II the court poet has adumberated the achievements with lavish eulogies.

An important mention, however, should be made of the literary qualities of Jayadeva II as evident from his self composed five verses[6] in this inscription which has been confirmed by Buddhakirti.[7] It has been stated that this brilliant lotus was dedicated by king Jayadeva II's mother, the illustrious Vatsadevi to the deity *Pasupati ?* The religious merit accruing from this act of the son and his mother was assigned to the credit of the deceased king Sivadeva II. Buddhakirti concludes his statement with a benedictory verse[8] in which he prays for the long life of the reigning sovereign

1. Name of Buddhakirti has been mentioned in verse 33 of Indraji and Buhler's inscription No. 15, Op. cit., pp. 180-182; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., p. 119, verse 33.

2. Indraji and Buhler, Op. cit., verse 14, R. Gnoli, Op. cit., p. 14.

3. Indraji and Buhler, Op. cit., p. 181 (verse 15).

4. This view has been supported by R.C. Mitra (*The Decline of Buddhism in India*, Calcutta, 1954, p. 92) and Edward Gait (*A History of Assam*, Calcutta, 3rd ed., 1963, p. 31). R.M. Nath, however, is wrong in mentioning that Harshadeva offered his sister to Jayadeva II in marriage (*The Background of Assamese Culture*, Shillong, 1948, p. 42.)

5. D.R. Regmi, Op. cit., p. 167.

6. Indraji and Buhler, Op. cit., pp. 179 (verses 20, 25, 27, 28 and 29), 181-182; R. Gnoli, Op. cit., pp. 117-118.

7. Op. cit., p. 182 (verse 33).

8. Ibid., p. 183 (verse 34); R. Gnoli, Op. cit., p. 119 (verse 34).

Jayadeva, anxious for the welfare and security of his subjects who, in turn, were loyally devoted to the throne.

An appraisal of this inscription reveals some interesting points. This is the longest inscription of the period which provides us with a mine of information. The important point in this inscription is that Jayadeva II, giving liberty to the Buddhist poet, Buddhakirti, in composing his *Prasasti*, presents an ideal policy of religious toleration which was not inferior one to that of his predecessor king Sivadeva II. Besides, in adoring his father's memory in association with his mother Vatsadevi, he presented the lotus with a gift of silver to his father's welfare. Thus his liberal religious policy was favourable to Nepalese Buddhists who were encouraged by the sincere devotion of Jayadeva II to the religious outlook of his father who lived and worked for Buddhism.

Mention has been made of a prince too who became *Bhikshu* and retired to the *Chakra-vihara*,[1] situated in Lalitapattana. It has also been noted that this prince had built an additional golden roof over the *Pasupati's* temple situated on a hill south-west of Kantipura. This hilly place was Kirtipura which is situated south-west of Kantipura. The father of this prince is said to have introduced copper coins alloyed with iron and marked with lion's figure.[2] Another prince also followed this example and retired to a mendicant order of Buddhism in A. D. 750[3].

During this period the dynasty of the Lichchhavis comprised long-lived and versatile sovereigns who brought about political unification of Nepal which ushered in an era of orderly government and socio-religious progress. Inland and foreign trade flourished under their rule and wealth of the country increased to a considerable extent. As a consequence of this material prosperity and internal security, there followed a development and promotion of religion and literature under the Lichchhavis.

1. Bhagvanlal Indraji and G. Buhler, 'Some Considerations on the History of Nepal', *I.A.*, Vol. xiii, 1884, p. 413.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

SECTION II

Preachers : Expansion of Nepalese Buddhism through the Buddhist trio (A. D. 748-780)

The Buddhist trio

The Buddhist trio consisted of three contemporary Indian Buddhist monk-scholars of brilliant scholarship. They were Santarakshita, Padmasambhava and Kamalasila. They were born and bred up in Magadha and were the celebrated Buddhist intellectual giants of Nalanda *Mahavihara*. They all visited Nepal where they preached and worked for its cause before they finally started for Tibet.

Santarakshita : A. D. 705-762

Santarakshita was one of the greatest scholars India had ever produced[1]. Unfortunately we have no sufficient record of personal incidents of his life. The Tibetan sources show that he was the pioneer Buddhist monk-scholar among the Buddhist-trio. He was the beacon light for those Buddhist scholars who followed his path in respect of Buddhist expansion in India, Nepal and Tibet. For a convenient treatnent of his life and work his career may be divided into four parts, *viz.*, his life in India (A. D. 705-743), his first visit to Tibet (A. D. 743), his return from Tibet and stay in Nepal for six years (A. D. 743-749) and finally his role in Tibet during the remaining part of his life (A. D. 749-762).

Santarakshita in India : A. D. 704-743

Santarakshita was born in a royal family of Sabour[2], Bhagalpur, Bihar

1. E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), *Tattvasamgraha,* Vol. I, with a Foreword by B. Bhattacharyya (Gen. Ed.), Baroda, 1926, p. x.

2. R. Sankrityayana, *Puratattva Nibandhavali* (Hindi) (Allahabad, 1st ed., 1937, 2nd ed , 1958), pp. 221-225 (The relevant article cites the Tibetan sources also); 'Acharya Dipankara Srijnana', *2500 Years of Buddhism* (edited by P. V. Bapat, Delhi, 1st ed., 1956, reprinted in 1964), p. 199.

3. There is a controversy about the birthplace of Santarakshita. While R. Sankrityayana stands for Sabour near Bhagalpur in Bihar, the Bengali scholars are in favour of 'Sabhar', a village of Vikramapur *Pargana* of the Dacca district in Bangladesh. For all latter views see S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow* (Calcutta, 1st ed., 1893), reprinted in 1965 with an introduction by N. C Sinha who supports the view held by Rahula Sankrityayana, pp. vii-viii), p. 51 (Das believes that Santarakshita was born at Gaur); S C. Vidyabhusana, *The History of Indian Logic* (Calcutta, 1921); E. Krishnamacharya (ed), Op. cit., B. Bhattacharyya's Foreword, p. xiii; N. N. Dasgupta, 'Bengal's Contribution to *Mahayana* Literature', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. xxx, No. IV, 1954, p. 328; A. Chattopadhyaya, *Atisa and Tibet* (Calcutta, 1967), p. 230. She quotes R. Sankrityayana's article in *2500 Years of Buddhism* only in respect of identifying 'Sahor' of the Tibetan account, she has not seen his article in the *Puratattva Nibadhavali* (Hindi).

in A. D. 705[1]. The detailed account of his life is not known.

Regarding his career in India it has been mentioned that professionally he was the *Mahasthavira* of the Nalanda *Mahavihara*[2]. He wrote several philosophical works of which two are important : (*I*) *Vada Nyayavritti Vipanchitartha* (ii) *Tattvasamgraha*[3]. He was a famous logician of the eighth century A. D[4]. We get an interesting statement about his doctrine. "My doctrine is to follow whatever was proved correct after examining it by reason and to avoid all that does not agree with reason.[5]" In his *Tattvasamgraha* he refutes views of many philiosophical systems of the past and of his own day both Buddhist and non-Buddhist[6]. In this work we find him and his pupil [Kamalasila] as versatile philosophers who

1. S. C. Vidyabhusana, Op. cit., p. 323; E. krishnamacharyya (Ed.), B. Bhattacharyya's Foreword, p. xiv; H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda* (Madras, 1934), p. 118; B. Bhattacharyya, 'The Home Tantric Buddhism', *B. C. Law Volume*, Part I, edited by D. R. Bhandarkar and others (Calcutta, 1945), pp, 355-356 fn. He states that Santarakshita's date is certain, since he did not refer to Sankaracharya but to the earlier school of the *Aupanishadas*, his date as given by him in the *Tattvasamgrah* is to be taken as settled. The date is 705-762 A. D. Santarakshita is again connected with Padmasambhava, and incidentally with his father Indrabhuti all of whom must, therefore, be contemporaries. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, 1st ed , 1955, 2nd ed., 1964, p. 271; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 230. She states that Santarakshita must have lived between A. D. 750 and 802.

2. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, Calcutta, 1933, p. 374; H. D. Sankalia, *The University of Nalanda*, Madras, 1934, p. 77; R. K. Mookerji, *Ancient Indian Education*, London, 1st ed., 1947, 2nd ed., 1951, p.577; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit , p. 231. She writes that Santarakshita acted as the *Upadhyaya* of Nalanda.

3. R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Dacca, 1943, p. 333 and A. Chattopadhyaya (Op. cit., p. 229) mention about a third prominent work of Santarakshita, *Madhyamikalamkara-Karika* with an auto-commentary which survives in the Tibetan language.

4. H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 78.

5. G. N. Roerich (Ed.), *The Blue Annals*, Part I, Calcutta, 1949, p. 42.

6. R. Sankrityayana, *Buddhacharyya* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1933, p. 11; M. Winternitz, Op. cit., p. 374; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 232. She mentions that in *Tattvasamgraha* he seems to sweep away all the rival philosophical standpoints.

not only surveyed all the past as well as the contemporary philosophical systems but even refuted them one by one and thus strengthened the foundations of *Vijnanavada* laid down by Asanga[1].

Santarakshita's first visit to Tibet : A. D. 743

The remarkable phase of the life of Santarakshita was his visit to Tibet (A. D. 743) for the cause of Buddhism on an invitation from the Tibetan Buddhist king[2], named Mesag-Tshom (A. D. 704-755)[3]. This king was popular due to his masonry hobby and patronage to literary activities in the well-being of Buddhism. He built the royal fort at Lhasa and got several Buddhist texts translated into the Tibetan language with the assistance of the famous lotsawas (translators-cum-interpreters)[4]. Santarakshita welcomed their invitation sent through Jnanedra[5] and went to Tibet *via* Nepal[6].

Santarakshita remained for four months in Tibet where he preached on ten moral injunctions (*Dasasila*), the eighteen component parts of the individual (*Ashtadasa-Dhatavah*) and the twelve parts of the *Pratityasamutpada*[7]. But this time Santarakshita failed to exercise his influence over the Tibetans through his high philosophical ideas because the Tibetans being immature could not rise up to the levels of his Buddhist intellectualism. The ideas of ten *Paramitas* or ten virtues and the 'chain of casual phenomenon' were new to them. They had no previous religious background to apply

1. H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 78.

2. E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), Op. cit., (Fore., Gen. Ed., B. Bhattacharyya p. xiv; H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 118. Sankalia points out that Santarakshita was invited by Khri-son-den-tsan which is wrong.

3. H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet* (London, 1961), p. 40.

4. L. Petech, 'A Study on the Chronicle of Ladakh', *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XV No. 1, 1939, p. 64.

5. R. Sankrityayana, *Tibet men Bauddhadharma (Hindi)* (Allahabad 1948), p. 13.

6. P. V. Bapat (Ed.), *2500 Years of Buddhism*, p. 73; A. Chattopadhyaya Op. cit., p. 231. She, however, does not mention the name of Jnanendra and says that "we do not know what brought him (Santarakshita) from Nalanda to Nepala".

7. R. Sankrityayana, Op. cit., p. 13; H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 46.

their mind in this direction. Besides, the Bon religion had its deeper root in the Tibetan soil. Therefore, the Bon-protagonists raised an anti-Buddhist agitation. These circumstances compelled him to leave Tibet[1] in A. D. 743. Having watched the humiliation of the Tibetan Buddhists and the Buddhist deities[2] he left Tibet.

Santarakshita's stay in Nepal : A. D. 743-749

Santarakshita, after leaving Tibet came to Nepal to stay there for six years. No mention, however, has been made by any authority as to where did Santarakshita stay in Nepal during A. D. 743-749 after which period he was finally recalled to Tibet. Our presumption is that he did not stay at one particular place like the Man-Yul pass. An ambitious and dynamic Buddhist monk-scholar like him cannot be expected to remain idle at a fixed point where no provision for Buddhist learning could be arranged.

We feel that during the period of six years spent in Kantipura (modern Kathmandu) Santarakshita had sufficient time to serve the cause of Nepalese Buddhism. His short stay in Tibet and his arduous journey in this connection had already enabled him to examine the situation well. His *Vijnanavada* theory might have become popular among the Nepalese Buddhist scholars of his time. certainly it was his intellectual influence that Sivadeva II could be impressed to take interest in Nepalese Buddhism in A.D. 749 by granting a liability-free village *Agrahara* for the up-keep of the famous *Aryasamgha* (*Arya-Bhikshu-Samgha*) with its head office in Sivadeva *Vihara*.[3] This Buddhist *Samgha* was prominent Buddhist organisation through which Buddhist intellectual luminaries of Nepal could come together to discuss important religious and philosophical matters. All these happened in the presence of Santarakshita who was there to offer his learned suggestions to the laymen Nepalese Buddhists and Bhikshus.

1. H. D. Sankalia, Op cit., p. 118; D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya* (London, 1957), p. 46; P. Thomas, *Colonists And Foreign Missionaries of Ancient India* (Ernakulam, 1963), p. 73.
2. D.L. Snellgrove, Op. cit., p. 140; H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., pp. 42–43.
3. R. G. Basak, *HNEI : c. 320-760 A.D.*, pp. 265–266.

For the long period of six years Santarakshita moved and worked in the valley of Kantipura where he is credited to have laid down the foundation of the historic Svayambhu *Chaitya*.[1] According to the local Buddhist tradition the founder of this Buddhist shrine was Santikaracharya. An attempt has been made to refute this tradition and establish that the real founder of this *Chaitya* was Santarakshita and not Santikaracharya.[2] We, however, do not see any contradiction between the two theories, for in our opinion these two persons were identical. Santarakshita was called Santikaracharya by the Nepalese Buddhists during his stay in Nepal. The literal meaning of both the words, i.e., Santarakshita and Santikaracharya, is the same. The account in the T'ang Annals provides an additional piece of evidence in this connection. In A. D. 646 when one Chinese Buddhist monk-traveller, named Wang Hiuen-tse followed by others came down to Nepal, did not mention to have seen the Svayambhu *Chaitya* or the Mahabauddha shrine—the most important Buddhist monuments of the later days. As his aim was to offer a *Kashaya* to the Buddha enshrined in Nepal, he should have met with the Buddhist shrines which are the national monuments of Nepal. But he does not appear to have seen them. This forwards an additional point that the Svayambhu Chaitya was not extant during that period (A. D. 646-657).[3] It was a later creation. The Nepalese Buddhist shrine which attracted this Chinese Buddhist monk traveller were certainly the *Chaitya* and *Vihara* established during the time of Asoka the great known as the *Cha-vahil* (*Charumati vihara*).

It was during this period that the interest of Buddhism suffered a good deal in Tibet because of the minority of the pro-Buddhist supporters and its persecution at the hands of the Bon-protagonists.[4] In course of this anti-Buddhist agitation several Buddhist monks and scholars belonging to Nepal and China were ousted from the Tibetan

1. Bhikshu Dharmarakshita, *Nepal Yatra* (Hindi), Lucknow, 1953, p. 121.
2. Ibid.
3. D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, pp. 175–178.
4. L. Petech, Op. cit.; I. H. Q., Vol. xv, pp. 64–65; H. Hoffmann, Op cit., p. 42.

monastery of Ramoche.[1] Buddhist deities taken away from Nepal and the white *Tara* of China were singled out by the Bon-religionists of Tibet. The latter image was banished from the Tibetan mainland and was put in the town of Kyi-rong situated on the Nepal-Tibet border near the Man-Yul pass of the western Himalayan sector.[2] The liberal traditions laid down by Srong-btsan-Gampo were blown off and the Nepalese were given a cold shoulder by the Tibetans. The pro-Buddhist king, Khi-srong-lde-btsan had to surrender before the pressing demands of the Bon-nobility[3] which had control over the bureaucratic nerves of the Tibetan administration. However, it was an impulse of adjustment with the temporary calamitious situations in Tibet that the king had to bow down before the conditions laid down by the Bon-believers. At this stage of seemingly total collapse of the Buddhists in Tibet, Santarakshita recommended the name of Padmasambhava[4] to accomplish the immediate task of restoration of Buddhism in Tibet. Padmasambhava, in compliance to this call rushed to Nepal where Santarakshita was serving the cause of Nepalese Buddhism.

Santarakshita in Tibet : A. D. 749—762

So far as the last phase of the life of Santarakshita is concerned it was spent in Tibet from A.D. 749 to 762. During his stay in Nepal many Tibetans visited him. On their return to their native place they discussed and copied what they had learned under the guidance of Santarakshita in Nepal. The development of Nepalese Buddhism under the guidance and co-operation of the Buddhist monk-scholars, the wandering Buddhist mendicants and the *Siddhacharyas* from India during this period was watched with keen interest by the

1. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, p. 150; H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., pp. 42–43.

2. D. L. Snellgrove, Op. cit., p. 148; H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., pp. 43, 72.

3. H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 42.

4. E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), Op. cit., with a Foreword by B. Bhattacharyya (Gen. Ed.), p. xiv; H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 118; R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 673; G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Part I, p. 43; D. L. Snellgrove, Op. cit., p. 150; H. Hoffmann, Op, cit, p. 47; P. Thomas, Op. cit., p. 73.

Tibetan Buddhists in India, Nepal and Tlbet. When Santarakshita stepped in Tibet the Buddhists of Tibet got great encouragement.

While in Tibet, Santarakshita stabilised Buddhism through organising the Bhikshu *Samgha* and establishing the Bhikshu *Vihara* in Tibet[1]. He laid down the foundation of the famous Buddhist *Vihara* of Tibet, named Samye, which was designed on the pattern of the Bundhist *Mahavihara* temple of Odantapuri.[2] Although this great temple was completed twenty five years after his demise[3] in A. D. 787[4], the consecration ceremony was performed by him and Padmasambhava[5]. This historic and monumental Buddhist shrine is said to have been the design of the universe depicted in the texts of the Buddhist cosmography.[6] Thus Santarakshita made his life an integral part of the Buddhist activity which tied India, Nepal and Tibet in one strong knot of Buddhism. By ordaining seven Tibetans just after the work of laying down the foundation of the Samye *Vihara*[7] his services to Tibet were immortalised for the cause of Buddhism. The great Buddhist monk philosopher is said to have been killed by kick of a horse[8] in A.D. 762[9] in Tibet.

1. R. Sankrityayana, *Tibet men Bauddhadharma* (Hindi), p. 16.

2. H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 118, R. C. ajumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 673, H. Hoffmann, Op. cit, p. 47; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., pp. 238-239.

3. H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 75.

4. L. Petech, Op. cit., p. 70.

5. H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 48.

6. Ibid.

7. H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 46; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 245. She writes that "after the consecration of Sam-yas monastery, says Bu-ston, 12 monks of the sect of the *Sarvastivadins* were invited, and it was put to test whether the Tibetans could become monks or not. For this purpose 7 men were selected and ordained as monks. These are spoken of as 'the 7 selected ones".

8. I bid., p. 75.

9. H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit,, p. 118; R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal* Vol. I, p. 333: R. C. Majumdar states that he (Santarakshita) is said to have worked for thirteen years in Tibet and (ibid., p. 674) died of an accident.

Padmasambhava : A. D. 717-775

It may be recollected that Santarakshita had left Tibet in A. D. 743 and came back to Nepal where he stayed up to A. D. 749 safeguarding the interests of Nepalese Buddhism. While in Nepal he called on this second preacher of the Buddhist trio, named Padmasambhava to defend the Tibetan Buddhists and their faith in the Land of Snow. For a convenient treatment of the career of this preacher, we may divide it in three parts, *viz.*, his life in India (A. D. 717-743), his stay in Nepal for four years (A. D. 743-747) and his stay in Tibet and the adjoining regions for the remaining part of his life (A. D. 747-775).

Padmasambhava's life in India : A. D. 717-743

Padmasambhava was born in A. D. 717[1] in a region variously called Orissa[2], Uddiyana, Udoana[3], Uddiyana (Orissa ?)[4] Udayana[5] etc. Uddiyana has been interpreted as lying either in the north-west frontier zone of India or in the north-east zone of it (near Kamakhya in Assam)[6].

We know very little about the life and career of Padmasambhava prior to his departure for Tibet. There is no chronological account of his activities. It has been mentioned that he was the son of Indrabhuti[7], a king of Odivisa (present Orissa). H. Hoffmann

1. E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), *Tattvasamgraha*, Vol. I, with a Foreword by B. Bhattacharyya (Gen. Ed.), p. xv; A. S. Altekar, 'Cultural Importance of Sanskrit Literature Preserved in Tibet', *ABORI*, Vol. xxxv 1954, p. 11.

2. E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), Op, cit., B. Bhattacharyya's Foreword, p. xv.

3. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism* (London, 1895), p. 26 (he mentions that Uddiyana is identical with Udyana in the Swat Valley); H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., pp. 53-58; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 235.

4. M. Winternitz, Op. cit., p. 393.

5. H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 119. We do not know as to from which source Sankalia states that "Padmasambhava who follwed Santarakshita into Tibet, was the son of the king of Udayana, Indrabodhi."

6. R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj* (Bombay, 2nd ed., 1964), p. 323. For other view see D. C. Sircar, "Orissa and Uddiyana', *JOI*, Vol. xiii, No. 4, 1964, pp. 329-331.

7. L. A. Waddell, Op. cit., pp. 380-382. The author has mentioned that Indrabhuti was a king of Uddiyana. M. Winternitz, Op. cit., p. 393; H. D. Sankalia, Op. cit., p. 119. Sankalia calls Indrabhuti as 'Indrabodhi'; H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 53; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 235

has collected interesting materials for presenting an account of the life of Padmasambhava[1]. It has been stated that he was brother-in-law and collaborator of Santarakshita[2]. The lady whom he married was Mndarava[3] and she was the daughter of the king Indrabhuti. From the legendary account pregnant with historical gleanings it appears that Padmasambhava was an adopted son of king Indrabhuti[4].

Padmasambhava got his intellectual and spiritual training under two Buddhist monk-scholars, *viz.*, *Guru* Buddhajnanapada and Anangavajra[5]. His matrimonial relation with Santarakshita and academic apprenticeship under the erudite scholarly guidance of two intellectual giants of his time are the testimonies to Padmasmbhava's wide and deep knowledge of Buddhism. His unique proficiency in Tantric Buddhism has been ascertianed by his study of the 'triple yoga' philosophy, logic and the secret sciences (*Guhya Vijnana*) in India[6]. Besides, he reinforced his theoretical knowledge with practical experiences by defeating several Brahmana scholars in Tantric contests[7]. Padmasambhava successfully manifested his abilities as the professor of the *Yogachara* shool of Tantric Buddhism at the Nalanda *Mahavihara*[8]. Sankalia states that leaving aside the folk-lores about his birth and early life, which cannot be well relied upon, what we know positively of him is that he resided at the Nalanda University, when the Tibetan king sent an invitation to him, and that he was a prominent expounder of the *Yogachara* school. Thus he equipped himself with the learning of his contem-

1. For detail see H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., pp. 53-58

2. E. Krishnamacharyya, Op. cit., B. Bhattacharyya's Foreword, pp. xiv, xff, xvi ff; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 235. She has pointed out that he [Padmasambhava] had many wives one of whom was Santarakshita's sister Mandarava who accompanied him during his Tibetan expedition.

3. H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., pp. 54, 55. He mentions her as Mandarva; A. Chattopadhyaya, Op. cit., p. 235. She writes Mandarava.

4. H. Hoffmann, Op. cit., p. 53.

5. H. Hoffmann, Ibid., p. 57.

6. Ibid.

7. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 55.

8. H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 119; R. K. Mookerji, op. cit., p. 577.

porary Buddhist schools[1] and went to Nepal enroute to Tibet on a state call while he was twenty-six years old[2].

Padmasambhava's stay in Nepal : A. D. 743-747

Padmasambhava came to Nepal in A. D. 743 in course of his scheduled trip of visiting Tibet on the direction of Santarakshita. Padmasambhava left for Tibet while he was thirty years old in A. D. 747[3]. Petech points out in continuous account of the Tibetan king Mesag-tshoms (704-755) that 'this zeal of translation, still scarcely systematic and disciplined, went on gradually increasing and had as a consequence, a little later on, the coming of Padmasambhava and the final acceptance of Buddhism by the dynasty. Alaka chattopadhyaya states that this date (A. D. 747) is not correct, because it is earlier than the reign of khri-sron-lde-btsan (A. D. 755-797). However, he stayed in Nepal for four years to equip himself with many things from Santarakshita before his final journey to Tibet. A prior knowledge of Tibetan religious and political conditions was an important task for Padamsambhava. Nepal proved to be a ventage point for him from where he could observe and survey the course of events taking place in Tibet. During this period he kept himself in constant touch with the Tibetan Buddhists visiting Nepal. Also during this period he could be of great help to Santarakshita who was laying down the foundation of the Buddhist shrine of the Svayambhu *Chaitya* in Nepal. Thus he proved himself to be a sincere "collaborator" of Santarakshita in Nepal. The enchanting Buddhist atmosphere of Nepal full of festivities and rituals was very impressive to Padmasambhava. The liberal and

1. S. C. Das, op. cit., p. 49; Evans-Wentz, *Milarepa-a biography* (London, 1928), p. 5; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 118; A. K. Gordon, *Tibetan Religious Art* (New York, 1952), p. 12; P. Thomas, op. cit., p. 73.

2. E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), op. cit., B. Bhattacharyya's Foreword, p. xiv; 'The Date of Bauddha Gan O Doha', *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol, xiv, Part III, 1928, p. 344; S. Chattopadhyaya, *Evolution of Theistic Sects in India* (Calcutta), p. 120.

3. L. A. Waddell, op. cit., p. 27; E Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), op. cit., B. Bhattacharyya's Foreword, p. xiv; *J. B. O. R. S.* op. cit., Vol. xiv, Part III p. 344; L. Petech, op. cit., p. 64; S. Chattopadhayaya, op. cit., p. 120; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 235.

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tolerant attitude of the Lichchhavi king Sivadeva II towards the Buddhists of India and Nepal was encouraging for Padmasambhava in propaganda of Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet.

"In Nepal he [Padmasambhva] meditated in the rocky grotto of Yang-le-shod, a holy place which is still held in high honour today."[1] At this place he practised his favourite Tantric *Sadhana* and got hold over several evil forces with his magic dagger (*Vajrakila*)[2].

Although Padmasambhava was a professor of occult sciences and peerless in the field of the *Vajrayana Tantras*, he was not acquainted with implications of religions secrets of Tibet. The Nepalese Buddhists who were familiar with the Tibetan mysteries helped him as the first hand informants. As he was entrusted with the task of dealing with Tibetan religious affaris for which he was not well prepared, he had to train proper help-mates in Nepal as the special *Dakinis* to be used in Tibet. Therefore, he, in addition to his consort Mandarava, took three *Dakinis*, from Nepal, *viz.*, a Tibetan Dakini, named, bkrashis khye dren, domiciled in the Himalayan district (Mon) and two *Dakinis* of Nepalese origin, namely, Kalasiddhi and Sakyadevi[3]. It has been stated that Mandarava and the Tibetan *Dakini* are often portrayed to the left and right of the master in religious pictures of the Nying-ma-pa sect[4]. Thus he showed his profound ingenuity in coping with the theological problems of his day. H. Hoffmann mentions that "Padmaism, the doctrine of the sect of rNying-ma-pa which honours him, or U-rgyan-pa (U-rgyan is the Tibetan form of the name Udyana), has always held its own specific and rather independent place in Lamaism despite internal relations with other trends. Alaka Chattopadhyaya has quoted lines of L. A. Waddell's *Lamaism* in order to give a clear meaning of rNying-ma-pa sect and points out that "this residual

1. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 55.

2. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 55; G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Part I (Calcutta, 1949), p, 43.

3. Ibid. However, Roerich mentions only two Nepalese Dakinis namely, Kalasiddhi and Sakyadevi.

4. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 55-56, 58; A. Chattopadhpaya, op. cit., p. 237.

element of primitive Lamaism forms the rNin-ma-pa sect of modern Tibet".

On the basis of his personal experiences in dealing with religious affairs Padmasambhava felt that a Tibetan Buddhist centre should be built in Nepal where the Buddhists of Tibet could get shelter and other relevant facilities to safeguard their faith and existence in emergency. Nepal was the safest place for this purpose and for the purpose of religious ferment of Buddhism. Nepal was not confronted with such difficulties as were being faced by the Buddhists in Tibet. He, therefore, laid down the foundation of a Tibetan Buddhist shrine in Nepal so that in time of religious crisis the Tibetan Buddhists may get a safe sheleter and an institutionalised Buddhist centre in Nepal. This shrine was established in the north-east area of Kantipura, called Bodhanatha[1]. It was at Bodhanatha that the famous Tibetan Buddhism, called Lamaism was devised to suit the religious requirements of Tibetan people who had occasionally been put to confusion because of ideological clashes of the Bon-religionists and idealists of Indian Buddhism[2]. Therefore, Lamaism, was a fine synthesis of the old Bon religion and the original Buddhism devised by Padmasambhava in Nepal.[3] Finally in A. D. 747 he left Nepal and stepped into Tibet.

All these points give an account of the role played by Nepal which for Padmasambhava proved to be the main ideological power-house for expansion of Buddhism beyond the Himalayan regions. Two things closely connected with his personality, *viz* (i) Bodhanatha, a centre of Lamaism, and (ii) the doctrine of Lamaism were primarily part and parcel of Nepal's role in furtherance of the cause of Buddhism,

1. D. L. Snellgrove· op. cit., p. 98.

2. L. A. Waddell, op. cit., pp. 518-520; S. C. Das, op. cit., p. 49; Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 5; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 118; A. K. Gordon, op. cit., p. 12; *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol, I (Calcutta, 1958), p· 501; E. O. Reischauer and J. K. Fairbank, *East Asia : The Great Tradition*, Vol. I (London, 1960), p. 277; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 59-64.

3. H. Hoffmann, op, cit, p. 14.

Padmasambhava's Stay in Tibet : A. D. 747-775

Padmasambhava reached Tibet in A. D. 747. It has been mentioned that he "turned barren land into fruitful land and diverted the river Brahmaputra into an underground cavern"[1]. It means that he took steps to improve agriculture and ensured economic welfare of the Tibetans throngh introducing irrigation facilities. By utilising water of the Brahmaputra river he showed the importance of river in agriculture which promised progress of his religious doctrine in Tibet. At this stage in A. D. 749, Santarakshita got chance to go to the land of snow to fulfil his incomplete task. H. Hoffmann writes that in this connection we must remember the great role played by the *Dakinis* who were not merely spirits of mystical inspiration but also actively assisted in the discovery of the texts, often in secret writings and secret languages which had been hidden in various places such as holes in and under rocks, and in religious buildings by Padmasambhava in order to facilitate the salvation of later generations."[2] Petech in his account of Mesag-Tshoms (A. D. 704-755) points out that this zeal of translation, still scarcely systematic and disciplined, went on gradually increasing and had as a consequence, a little later on, the coming of Padmasambhava and the final acceptance of Buddhism by the dynasty[3]. In Tibet Padmasambhava did several Buddhist works with the help of his *Dakinis*. In this respect a remarkable achievement was "that the master persuaded the king to give him one of his wives.[4]" This woman was Yes-shes-'tsho rgyal, who counts as the fifth of the special *Dakins* of Padmasambhava[5]. Petech states that king khri-sron-lde-btsan gave his daughter Khrom-pa-rgyan to Padmasambhava in marriage[6]. In this way he facilitated his work in Tibet by marrying the king's wife whom he utilised as his main *Dakini*.

Santarakshita's arrival in Tibet became a vital source of encouragement to Padmasambhava in the fulfilment of his mission. The Buddhist monastery at Lhasa in Tibet, *viz.*, Samye which

1. H. Hoffmann, op. cit. p. 56.
2. Ibid., pp. 59-60.
3. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 64.
4. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 55.
5. Ibid.;
6. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 71 fn.

became the Vatican of northern Buddhism beyond the Himalayas[1]. Lamaism or characteristic Tibetan Buddhism devised by Padmasambhava for the Tibetan people was unanimonsly accepted. Therefore, the credit of spreading Buddhism in inner Mongolia, outer Mongolia, Russia and Kalmuks and in the Himalayan tribes of Ladakh, Sikkim, Bhutan, NEFA and above all in Tibetan speaking areas of Nepal goes to Tibet.[2]

So far as the role of Padmasambhava in Tibet after A. D. 762 is concerned there is a controversy because, a satisfactory account of Padmasambhava's life after the death of Santarakshita is not available for reaching a definite conclusion. If he did neither die in A. D. 762 and nor did remain in Tibet, it means he was compelled to leave Tibet because of unfavourable internal situations[3]. Professor R. C. Majumdar mentions that Padmasambhava, after a residence of a short period, left Tebet in order to preach Budhism in other lands[3]. H. Hoffmann pointed out that Padmasambhava remained in Tibet for eighteen months, though the followers of the sect which goes back to him believe that he stayed in Tibet for fifty years, a belief which is, however, hardly credible[4]. But so far as he had come to study secrets of the Bon-religionists of Tibet he decided to do something for the Tibetan Buddhists without presenting any provacation through his physical presence[5] before them. With this consideration in his mind he spent the latter part of his life in the Tibetan speaking areas of Nepal. He popularised the Lamaist faith in that region so that the Tibetan Buddhist followers might get his constant spiritual guidance in times of general crisis. However, there are other views as well[6] which do not seem to be plausible in conformity with Padmasambhava's intimate affection for Nepal and Tibet where he had establisshed his most loving

1. S. C. Das, op. cit., p. 49; Evans-Wentz, op. cit., pp. 4-5; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 118; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 48

2. L. P. Lahalungpa, 'Tibet Through Indian Culture', *PICO*, 26th Session, Supplement No., 1964, p. 46.

3. R. C. Majumdar, Ed., *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 675.

4. H. Hoffmann op. cit., p. 58.

5. Ibid., p. 55.

6. Ibid., pp. 58, 109.

Buddhist centres with thousands of followers and admirers. The evidence concerning the length of Padmasambhava's stay in Tibet differs. H. Hoffmann mentions that he went to the west, into the land of *Nagapotadvipa*, just previously called Kapita. About "Kapita", he points out that it is very difficult to decide today whether the ka-pi-ta in the name of the third of these mysterious lenguages is only a mystic word, or whether it refers to the old area Kapisha, or Kapistan to the north-west of India. If the latter should turn out to be the case then a still further part of that area of North-West India would have been brought into connection with the Bon-religion, an area which in the first thousand years after Christ was a remarkable centre for the develo-ment of syncretic religion[1]. A sect of the Tibetan Buddhism known as the rNying-ma-pa stands for the sect established by the Tibetans in respect of the doctrine of Padmasambhava called "Padmaism" or this term. This seet has its own view over the activities of Padmasambhava in Tibet. Whereas the biography makes it clear that the rNying-ma-pa[2] regards the master's stay in Tibet as extending into the reign of king Khri-arong's son and second successor Mu-tig btsan-po Sad-ma-legs (798-817). The historian Sum-pa mkhan-po, basing his statement on the valuable work 'Yig-tshang rnying-pa' or archive records, declares that Padmasambhava remained in Tibet for eighteen months, though the followers of the sect which goes back to him believe that he stayed in Tibet for fifty years[3]. We, therefore, suggest the date A. D. 775 as the year of the death of Padmasambhava. Earlier we have made it clear that Padmasam-bhava co-operated with Santarakshita up to A. D. 762, the year of the death of the latter. No mention has been made of the ill health or physical weakness of Padmasambhava. We, therefore, propose twelve years more for his life and suggest the round figure of A.D. 775 as the date of his death. In this way he had the life span of 57 years. Santarakshita and Kamalasila lived for fifty-seven and fifty-eight years respectively. Nothing was heard of Padmasambhava in A. D. 786 at the time of the death of Kamalasila which may suggest that Padmasambhava was already dead. It means up to this time he

1. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 109.
2. Ibid, pp. 55-56, 58.
3. Ibid., pp. 57-58.

survived and moved in the Tibetan speaking area of Nepal's northern regions to preach Buddhism. Padmasambhava's doctrine dealt with Buddhist Tantras and all the attributes of *Guhya* Buddhist faith while Kamalasila's doctrine was purely theoretical based on intellectual activities.

Kamalasila : A. D. 720-780

Kamalasila was the last of the Buddhist trio, but in no way the least influential personality in visiting Tibet for the cause of Buddhism. His career and service in the field of Buddhism will show that it was he who once and for ever decided the fate of Buddhism in Tibet and established its faith firmly in the head and heart of the Tibetans. A Chattopadhyaya has quoted that "the last thing attributed by Bu-ston to Santarakshita was a prophecy according to which the Tibetan Buddhists were soon to be divided into two sects and Santarakshita's student Kamalasila was to be brought to Tibet to pacify all strife and establish the true form of the teaching."[1] In this connection his entire life may be divided into three parts, *viz.*, his life in India (A. D. 720-762), his flying visit to Nepal (A. D. 762) and his life in Tibet up to his sad demise (A. D. 762-780).

Kamalasila in India : A. D. 720-762

There is no definite information about the date of birth, the birthplace and the parentage of Kamalasila. It has been pointed out that he was born in A. D. 720[2]. H. D. Sankalia states that "being a disciple and contemporary of Santarakshita, Kamalasila must have lived in A. D. 720-780, because he must have at least 25 years of age when he wrote the commentary (*Panjika*) on the *Taittvasamgraha*, which seems to have inspired Santarakshita, who said to the Tibetans that Kamalasila would bring victory to the side of real *Dharma*, when there would arise a division in the Buddhist Camp in Tibet. *Tattvasamgraha* was perhaps written in 740, before Santarakshita went to Tibet. As Kamalasila was sent for just after Santarakshita died in 762 A. D., we may allow some 20 years more to Kamalasila, that is 780 A. D. Dr. B. Bhattarharyya

1. A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 245-246.
2. H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 122; E. Krishnamacharyya (Ed.), *Tattrasamgraha* p. xix.

has mentioned that "Kamalasila at that time (A. D. 743) was at least 30 years old. This suggestion fixes the approximate date of his birth in A. D. 713. In this connection it has been stated that he was a great Buddhist philosopher of Magadha[1]. This indicate his birthplace in Magadha.

Kamalasila was the disciple of Santarakshita at Nalanda before the latters' visit to Tibet in A. D. 743. He was the professor of Tantra at Nalanda[2] where he became a great philosopher and logician[3]. He wrote a commentary on Santarkshita's *Tattvasamgrha*. This work is the specimen of his vast learning and erudite scholarship. He elaborates the difficult *Karikas* of his *Guru*, Santarakshita. Where Santarakshita does not mention names of the authors and states only their opinions, Kamalasila supplies their names with extensive quotations from their works. Names of Buddhist philosophers supplied are those of Vasumitra, Dharmatrata, Ghoshaka, Buddhadeva, Sanghabhadra, Vasubandhu, Dignaga and Dharmakirti[4]. The teachers belonging to the schools of the *Lokayatas, Jainas, Samkhyas, Naiyayikas and Mimamsakas* are also named[5]. In some cases where Santrakshita considers further refutation of the opponent's theory to be unnecessary, Kamalasila himself takes up the cudgels and shows his profound learning by carrying the discussions still further, anticipating the minutest objections on the part of his opponent, and vanquishing him thoroughly and completely. But all through his commentary and discussions he retains his dignity condescending to redicule his opponent."[6]

The circmstances under which he was called by the Tibetan king are very interesting[7]. He accepted the invitation and proceeded on his journey to Tibet.

1. S. C. Das, op. cit., p. 49; R. C. Majumdar (Ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 675.
2. B. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., edited by E. Krishnamacharyya, p. xix.
3. S. C. Vidyabhusana, op. cit., pp. 129-130; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 119.
4. M. Winternitz, op. cit., p. 374.
5. Ibid.
6. B. Bhattacharyya's (Gen. Ed.), Foreword to *Tattvasamgraha* edited by E. Krishnamacharyya, p. xix.
7. H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 119; for details see ibid., pp. 119-120; H. Hoffmann, op, cit., p. 75; A. Ghattopadhyapa, op. cit., pp. 245-246.

Kamalasila's visit to Nepal : A. D. 762

Kamalasila's visit to or passing through Nepal on his way to Tibet has not been mentioned by the scholars. Kamalasila visited the Buddhist shrines of Nepal as his predecessors had great regard for Nepal. They had established there important Buddhist shrines. Therefore, Kamalasila visited all the famous *Viharas* of the valley, especially the Svayambhu *Chaitya* and Bodhanatha. At Bodhanatha he interviewed with several Tibetan Lamaist Buddhists and Bhikshus. Before his visit to Tibet he knew many secrets of Tibetological learning in Nepal. It is also possible that Kamalasila met Padmasambhava who had dedicated his life in the propagation of Buddhism in the Tibetan speaking areas of Nepal. Thus the flying visit of Kamalasila to Nepal for a few months in A. D. 762 became useful to the Nepalese Buddhism.

Kamalasila was the famous commentator of *Tattvasamgraha*, an eminent work of his late *Guru*, Santarakshita who had a very soft corner for Nepalese Buddhism. Kamalasila, being the most favoured disciple of his *Guru* who was popular in Nepal, was warmly received by the Nepalese Buddhist Bhikshus and laymen followers. He impressed the Nepalese people with his brilliant scholarship of the latest Buddhist ideas taught at Nalanda. Besides, as he had been invited by the Tibetan king with the special purpose of removing some misunderstandings or misinterpretations regarding Indian Buddhist ideas spread in Tibet and for discussing important controversy with a Chinese Buddhist scholar, named *Mahayana* Hoshang,[1] the Nepalese Buddhists took keen interest in Kamalasila. H. Hoffmann mentions that "Hva-shang *Mahayana* was obviously a typical representative of the Chinese Buddhism of the T'ang period, which combined the Indian teachings with national Chinese Taoist elements in intuitive contemplation. Like his predecessors Kamalasila also moved from one monastery to the other and addressed many religious meetings and social gatherings in Nepal.

1. B. Bhattacharyya (Gen. Ed.), Foreword to *Tattvasamgraha* edited by E. Krishnamacharyya, p. xviii; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., pp. 120-122; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 76;

Kamalasila in Tibet : A. D. 762-780.

Kamalasila went to Tibet on an invitation from Khri-sron-lde btsan, the king of Tibet. The reign of this Tibetan king was "doubly important because it marked the zenith of the Tibetan power and the affirmation of Buddhism as the chief religion of the state."[1] This king had also been called the incarnation of Manjusri.[2] During his reign Tibet established an "indirect influence on the ultimate destiny of Central Asia through the elevation of Buddhism to the status of state religion of Tibet[3]. It was under this background that the ideological contradictions over the teachings of Buddhism arose in that country. The death of Santarakshita had an unfavourable effect on the cause of Indian Buddhism in Tibet[4]. Therefore, in order to bring some clarity into the confused situation the king once more organised a disputation as he had done between the Bon-po and the Buddhists which took place at the court in his presence[5]. Khri-sron-lde-btsan, feeling highly disturbed, brought back Jnanendra from the solitude of his meditation. On his advice the king invited Kamalasila from India to defend Santarakshita's views against the Chinese Hoshang. After Kamalasila came to Tibet, a grand philosophical debate was organised between the Chinese priests and the followers of Santarakshita with king as the judge. The result of the disputation decided that Tibet should not adopt the Chinese version of Buddhism but the Indian *Mahayana* version[6]. "Be that what it may, according to the Tibetan historians this philosophical debate leading to Kamalasila's victory was an important landmark in the religious history of Tibet."

However, the victory of Indian Buddhism in Tibet took the life of Kamalasila who became a martyr of the faith. Hva-shang *Mahayana* dispatched four hired murderers to Tibet to assassinate the Indian master Kamalasila reads too much like a subsequent

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 65.
2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. Ibid.
4. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 75.
5. Ibid., pp. 75-78; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., pp. 119-120; A. Chattopadhayaya, op. cit., pp. 245-249.
6. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 78; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 249.

attempt to place the crown of martyrdom on the master's head, but at the same time it is not possible for us to say with confidence that such behaviour was out of question—the incident with the bricking-in of the anti-Budhist Minister Ma-zhang Khrom-pa is a fair indication of the ruthless measures the Buddhists of those days were prepared to adopt."[1] Another view is that "four Chinese butchers, sent by the Ho-shang, killed the teacher Kamalasila by squeezing his kidneys".[2] In spite of this tragic incident Indian Buddhism was made the state religion of Tibet.

In the religious Tsam mysteries performed in Tibetan monasteries the figure of Hva-shang appears in a grotesque form as the representative of the defeated teaching to be held up to the scorn of the children.[3] The Buddhists of Nepal got moral support from that incident in preservation and advancement of the cause of Nepalese Buddhist faith. Indian Buddhism got respectable status in the religious affairs of northern Buddhist countries beyond the Himalayas. This, in turn, strengthened the roots of Nepalese Buddhism.

An Estimate of the work of the Buddhist trio in Nepal

The role of the Buddhist trio in the context of Nepalese Buddhism had the bearing of the contemporary Indian social system in which they could shape their total personalities. We may put Santarakshita and Kamalasila at one place, Santarakshita and Padmasambhava at the other. While with Padmasambhava, Santarakshita served Nepalese Buddhism by founding Buddhist centres and building Buddhist shrines. We find an active spirit in them in respect of Nepalese Buddhism. As pro-Indian Buddhists were present in Nepal, Santarakshita presented his latest thesis of the *Tattvasamgraha* before the Nepalese Buddhist scholars and phisosophical thinkers.

As a sincere advocate and religious preacher of Buddhism he established the Svayambhu *Chaitya* as an abode of the Indian Buddhists. So far as the Tibetan speaking Buddhists also were

1. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 78.
2. A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 249;
3. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 78; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 249.

living in the northern regions of Nepal, Padmasambhava, the spiritual guide of the Tibetan Buddhists laid the foundation of the Bodhanatha shrine which became the centre of the Lamaist Budhhists in Nepal. He forwarded a suitable idea of Buddhism for the Tibetans, called Lamaism which stood as the unique compound of the Bon traditions and Indian *Vajrayana* Buddhism. Thus the intellectual side of the Nepalese Buddhism was strengthened by Santarakshita and its traditional and spiritual side was reinforced by Padmasambhava. Santarakshita was emulated by the Nepalese Buddhists and the Tibetans as *Acharya Bodhisattva*[1] and the transcendant Padmasambhava, hypnotised as the second Buddha, bodily apparition of the supreme Buddha *Amitabha*, is undoubtedly of more importance than *the original historical figure*"[2].

The role played by Santarakshita under collaboration of Kamalasila as evident from the latter's commentary on the *Tattvasamgraha* left an impact on the Nepalese Buddhism. The whole ideological complex opened a new vista of thinking in the arena of Nepalese Buddhist ideas. It was the influence of these Buddhist twins that the *Lichchhavi* king Sivadeva II could interest himself in opening centres of Buddhism and granted many villages to keep them active. Padmasambhava completed the lacuna through his mystic Buddhist ideas which he studied and worked out on the soil of Nepal at Bodhanatha *Stupa*. Buddhist trio prepared a sound ground of Buddhism in Nepal which became main spring of propagation in the places beyond the Himalayas.

1. B. Bhattacharyya's (Gen. Ed.), Foreword to the *Tattvasamgraha*, edited by E. Krishnamacharyya, p.x.

2. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*, p. 151.

SECTION III

Nepal As One Of The Early Fields Of The Siddhacharyas circa : A. D. 700-800

The eighth century A. D. is important not only for the Buddhist trio but also for the *Siddhacharyas* who "flourished during the reign of the Pala kings of Bengal which extended from the eighth to the twelfth century A.D."[1] S. K. De pointed out that "with these so-called *Siddhacharyas* we enter upon a somewhat new phase....., although most of these thaumaturgists present a medley of doctrines, which had probably not yet crystallised themselves into well defined or sharply distinguished cults."[2] Dr. Buddhaprakash mentions that the movement of the *Siddhas* was a vast social synthesis. People of all castes, creeds and professions joined it

On the basis of *Dohakosa*[3] edited and re-translated by the late Rahula Sanskrityayana we are now in position to assert that Sarahapada, who flourished in the first half of the eighth century A. D. was the pioneer Buddhist *Siddhacharya*.[4] He had been the student of Haribhadra who was the disciple of Santarakshita and as such Saraha inherited several virtues of his master and master's teacher. Sarahapada brought an emotional and intellectual upsurge of great magnitude through his bold poetic assertions in the text of the *Dohakosa* which presents the true picture of his time. Thus his advent during the first half of the eighth century A. D. was the dawn of a new religious era. He was the real representative of his time. He launched severe attacks on the Brahmanical traditions of eastern Indian regions by means of his simple but unconventional and direct approaches to the social system advocated by the vested religious sections of society. Besides, his ruthless ideological onslaughts on the Brahmanical superstitions, he was the

1. S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults* (Calcutta, 1st ed., 1946. 2nd ed., 1962), p. 7.

2. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 338; Buddhaprakash, *Aspects of Indian History and Civilisation*, Agra, 1965, p. 270.

3. R. Sankrityayana (ed.), *Dohakosa of Sarahapada* (Hindi), (Patna, 1957).

4. Date of Sarahapada given by H. V. Guenther in his work [*The Royal Song of Saraha* (*A Study in the History of Buddhist thought*), Shambala Publications, Inc., California 1973, p. 4.] is wrong.

first among the Indian religious thinkers since the days of Sariputta and Moggalayana to expose the hollowness of scholastic sophistry and sickening discourses of Brahmanism of social customs and religious rituals. In fact the illiterate Indian mass of religious followers as a whole living in villages were put to confusion. Sarahapada, being the harbinger of clarity and straightforward ideas exposed the limitations of his contemporary Brahmanical sects and attempted to exonerate the common men from shackles of their narrow and sectarian religious views. He presented an alternative philosophy of his own and interpreted life, society, religion, philosophy etc. in an independent ideological complex bearing the impact of his avid textual knowledge and extensive wanderlust in the Buddhist world of eastern India, Nepal and Tibet. His *Dohakosa* was the formidable ideological arsenal of optimism and struggle against the landlord bourgeoisie philosophy of pessimism, incarnation theory of the Brahmanas, self-surrender policy of the individual before an Almighty and eye-piercing smoke of the Brahmanical *yajnas*.

Generally the Buddhist world had an idea of the *Triratna* theory (*Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Samgha*) only. However, practice of *Vajrayana* Buddhism in Nepal gave birth to a new spiritual tradition known as the *Chaturratna* which became the characteristic contribution to the Buddhist ideology. *Chaturratna* (*Guru*, *Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*) was originally coined by Sarahapada, a near contemporary of Padmasambhava and the pioneer monk-scholar among the eighty-four *Siddhacharyas*.

In fact the emphasis laid down on the significance of *Guru* in practising mystic ideas for quick attainment of *Moksha*, *Siddhi* or *Nirvana* is originally a Brahmanical contribution, the glimpse of which may be found in the *Upanishadas*. However, its popular and clear use was made during the period just before the advent of the Buddha when as many as sixty religious sects were operating in north India against the stereotype Vedic practices and Brahmanical priesthood. *Guru* functions as an intermediary between the devotee or *Sadhaka* and God or knowledge. But really speaking the role of *Guru* in Indian religions emerged because of changes in modes of

production during a transition when the craftsmen formed their separate social section, expanded and developed their art of specialisation of tool's production and production of many items needed by society without prejudice to consume all produces by themselves. It marked divisions of labour consolidating ties between different communities Its impact on religious activities resulted as a challenge to the religious and spiritual monopoly of the Brahmanical priestly order. Also with the advent of iron in early Indian agrarian life[1] many traditional practices and superstitions withered away. A clear picture of use of iron may be drawn from the life of Bribu belonging to the class of the *Panis* during *Rigvedic* period. It has been mentioned that once Bharadvaja *Rishi*, tottered and tired with hunger and thirst reached the house of Bribu who was engaged in carpentry[2]. Panorama of these material transformations was realised by the Buddha who refuted the sovereignty of the priestly order and played the role of *Guru* and interpreted everything independently and inherited a good number of unconventional qualities from his predecessor wandering *Sramanas*. It was just an accident that his followers, the *Arhats* after his death forwarded the theory of *Triratna* (*Buddha*, *Dharma* and *Sangha*) and omitted to mention the term *Guru* or substituted it with the Buddha. Certainly this omission was not spontaneous, it was deliberate under the pressure of the landlord bourgeoisie ideas associated with the early cults of Buddhism. It was a period of republican decay and emergence of high sounding imperial governments in eastern Indian regions of the Ganjetic valley. Buddhist texts such as the *Theragatha* and *Therigatha* depict many characters presenting social conditions during the fourth century B. C.[3]

1. S. A. Dange, *India : From Primitive Communism to Slavery*, Fourth edition, 1961, New Delhi, pp. 103-104.

2. *The Rigveda*, 5.45.31, 32, 33. This particular reference refutes the views of historians who hold that use of iron either in crafts or agriculture came as late as ninth to sixth century B.C. ultimately giving birth to Buddhism. Now the entire fabric of this theory collapses when the evidence of the adoption of iron smelting and blacksmithy as far back as 1100 B. C. in India has been discovered at Jodhpur during excavations.

3. M. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature*, vol-ii, 1933, Calcutta, p. 107; N. K. Bhagawat (ed.), *Therigatha* (Hindi) or Pourings in verse of the Buddhist Bhikkhunis, Bombay, 1937; A. K. Warder. *Indian Buddhism*, 1970, Delhi, pp, 228-239.

The concept of *Triratna* was carried on, propagated and interpreted for about twelve centuries after the demise of the Buddha until the next turning point came at the dawn of the eighth century of the Christian era when Sarahapada forwarded his theory of the *Chaturratna*. He was an advocate of *Sahajayana*, a Buddhistic sect made easy[1]. He simplified the tough philosophical terms, religious interpretations and spiritual practices of Buddhism through his *Dohas* composed in the *Apabhransa* language, the *lingua-franca* of his contemporary eastern Indian society spread from modern Gujarat and Wertern Punjab to Bengal[2]. However, with Sarahapada also it was per chance that his theory of *Chaturratna* could get currency in Tibet, the land of Lamaism and the Vatican of the trans-Himalayan Buddhist world. It was there again that he was crowned as the *Dvittiya Buddha* (the second Buddha). This aspect of the life of Sarahapada has been thoroughly examined and amplified by the late Rahula Sankrityayana, a well known Indian Tibetologist. He has translated and edited the work of Sarahapada, entitled *Dohakosa*. Sarahapada was given many eulogistic epithets for his various roles in propagation of *Sahajayana*, such as *Mahayogisvara Mahasaraha*[1], *Yogisvara Saraha*[2], *Mahayogisvara Sri Mahabrahmana Saraha*[3], *Dvittyabuddha Mahayogisvara Sri Saraha*[4], *Mahan Brahmana Saraha*[5], *Yogisvara Srimaha Saraha*[6], *Acharya Saraha*[7] etc. Certainly these epithets were given to him for his activities in eastern Indian regions and Nepal where he came across a large number of Brahmanical scholars whom he defeated in discussions and established the intellectual potency of *Sahajayana* before them. It was because of these intellectual encounters that he could earn so many epithets showing the impress of non-Buddhistic scholarships.

1. S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, 3rd edition, 1969, Calcutta, pp. 60-61 *fn*. (*Sahajiya* or *Marmiya* school of Buddhism dealt with the vital part or the very core or inner truth of religion to the exclusion of the formalities and outward shows.)
2. Ibid., pp. 4-9.

1. R. Sankrityayana (Tr. and Ed.), *Dohakosa* (Hindi), op. cit, p. 81.
2. Ibid., 125.
3. Ihid., 139.
4. Ibid,, 247.
5. Ibid., 273.
6. Ibid., 283.
7. Ibid., 301.

The career of Sarahapada was revolutionary. He presented bitter critiques of the sophisticated Brahmanical scholarship and aristocratic manners of living of the Buddhist monks and nuns in the *Viharas*, *Mahaviharas* and Buddhist centres of learning. However a similar revolt against the aristocratic manners of the *Arhats* was witnessed just before the third Buddhist Council according to the Ceylonese tradition. An interesting account of it has been given in the *Saddhamna Sangaha* (A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions).[1] It has been pointed out that sixty thousand heretics became envious of the gain and honour of the monks, and they, too, cutting off their hairs and putting on the yellow robes, went about the *Viharas* (monasteries), disturbed the monks in their practices, and created nuisance in the *Sasana*. So the monks were unable to hold the *Uposatha* (sabbath) ceremony for seven years. In order to purge the *Sasana* (religion) of its blemishes, king Asoka called the monks in an assembly in the *Asokarama* under the presidency of *thera* Moggaliputtatissa.[2] Quite on this line Sarahapada also advanced his activities. He married the daughter of a *Sarakara* (arrow maker) and he also learnt the art of arrow making or preparing other items with the reeds or reed-pipes, because of which he assumed his name Saraha which was called Sarahapada by his disciples and followers. Dr. Shashibhushan Das Gupta writes that the poets of the *Sahajiya* school laid their whole emphasis on their protest against the formalities of life and religion and this made them distinct in their religious attitude from the *Vajrayanists* or the general school of *Tantric* Buddhism.[3] Sarahapada was the founder advocate of the *Sahajiya* Buddhism. His cult survived for the next five centuries with a large number of followers. The eighty four *Siddhas*, however, occupied remarkable position among the people. Under their vanguard literary and religious activities the period from the eighth century to the thirteenth century got an epithet of *Siddha Samanta Yuga*[4] in Indian history.

1. B.C. Law (Translated into English), Calcutta, 1963, Chapter iv, pp. 43-56
2. Ibid., Intr., p. 5.
3. S. Das Gupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, Calcutta, 3rd ed., 1969, p. 51.
4. A period of the *Siddhacharyas* and the feudals or landlords.

Although the medium of scholarly expression during this period was the Sanskrit language used by Indian Brahmanical scholars in a stereotype fashion, Sarahapada and the later *Siddhacharyas* uniformly patronised and used *Apabhransa*.[1] An interesting parallelism is found between the fifth century B.C. ideological revolts of Buddhism and Jainism against slavery and the A.D. eighth century ideological revolts of *Sahajayana* against feudalism. A similar case is witnessed in the field of literary activities. What the *Prakrita* languages played their roles during the early Buddhist periods, the *Apabhransa* languages played from the eighth to twelveth century of the Christian era. S.A. Dange has made plausible observation on this problem. "It is not an accident that it is in this period of the beginning of Indian feudalism, the new village community and nationalities, arising on the break-up of the slave system and the big empires that the *Prakrita* languages which had been growing within the womb of the empires, came forward in history, and established themselves as 'recognised' languages. Their grammar and literature as represented by Vararuchi and Gunadhya grew up independently and vigorously. Sanskrit receded to the background and became a 'court language' or the jargon of the ruling intelligentsia to codify their laws and religious decrees. It appears that the growth of nationalities and the recognition of *Prakritas* go hand in hand with the rise and growth of Indian feudalism. The first kingdom that declared the *Prakrita* as its official language as against Sanskrit was that of the Satavahanas, a dynasty which is reported to have had its origin in peasant communities. It was not merely a freak that the shrewd Asoka also put his *shasanas* in *Prakritas*"[2]. In case of the *Apabhransa* also it is seen that with the proliferation of caste system leading to the emergence of many caste

1. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, vol. i, pp. 325-351, 383-389; S. Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 1-9; B.P. Mazumdar, 'A Revaluation of Buddhism in Bihar and Uttar Pradesh (C. 635-1197 A.D.),' *JBRS*, Special Issue, vol. i, 1956; S. Das Gupta, 'Charyapada Ki Sandhya Aur Sandha Bhasha', Translated from the original Bengali into Hindi by Srinarayan Pandey, *Paishad Partrika*, vol. i, no. 4, 1962 (Patna).

2. S. A. Dange, *India : From Primitive Communism to Slavery*, Fourth edition, 1961, New Delhi, Preface, p. xxiii.

based professions also appeared in a large number of regional Hindu kingdoms in north India which patronised this language and several works were composed in it besides the massive composition of the *Dohas* and *Charyas*.

Sarahapada refuted the intellectual sovereignty of the Sanskrit scholars over literary compositions and philosophical speculations and divorced it in composition of his *Dohakosa*. He boldly attacked the privileged status enjoyed by the Sanskrit language and torn off the concept of an ivory-tower scholarship clustering round the old age omnivorous theory mongering over the *Prasthanatrayi*.[1] Similar steps were taken by other *Siddhacharyas* who adopted unconventional and grotesque name or titles and composed *Dohas* and *Charyapadas* in the *Apabhransa* language. The *Siddhacharyas* moved extensively in north Indian region including Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, Bengal, Assam etc. with their nucleus in Nepal from where they went to Tibet and fulfilled a great task of cultural regeneration on new lines as evident from a large number of manuscripts discovered in Nepal and Tibet[2]. Mass media appeal of the *Dohas* and *Charyas* became an order of daily life for the Newars of Nepal. These songs were recited by the wandering Buddhists with the help musical instruments while moving from door to door. *Dohakosa* which was also called *Dohasangama* (a junction of *Dohas*) was fairly known to the Nepalese Buddhists of the period under review.

The *Charyapadas* are called *Chacha* songs in Nepal, obviously a corrupt form of the *Charya* songs. These songs were extensively recited in the life time of Sarahapada with purposeful aim of socio-religious purge in the Nepalese Buddhist society leaving a sound

1. A Brahmanical intellectual conceit for writing commentaries on the *Brahmasutra*, *Geeta* and *Upanishadas* in the Sanskrit language patronised by the landlord bourgeoisie society of ancient and early medieval India.

1. P. C. Bagchi (Tr. and ed.), 'Dohakosa' (with notes), *JDL*, vol. xxviii, 1935, pp. 1-80; 'Materials for a Critical Edition of the old Bengali Charyapdas' *JDL*, vol. xxx, 1938, pp. 1-156; H. P. Sastri (ed.), *Bauddha Gan O Doha* (Bengali), 2nd ed., Calcutta 1959; R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.; P. C. Bagchi and Santi Bhikshu Sastri (Editor and Annotator), *Charyagitikosa of Buddhist Siddhas*, Santiniketan 1956.

legacy to be carried on by the later *Siddhas*. Like the songs of Kabira and Tulasi of later medieval periods the *Dohas* and *Charyas* of the Buddhist *Siddhas* became the homely lyrics of the Buddhist communities of Nepal. The philosophy of the *Dohas* and *Charyas* manifested its victory over many Brahmanical ideas. A. Majumder writes that "in the mental horizon of contemporary Bengal self-negation synchronised with the tendency of self-preservation. The *Charya* songs bear eloquent testimony to these conflicting trends".[1] The *Siddhas* were free lancing singers. They advocated the cause of religious liberalism within the Buddhistic fold because of which their contemporary thinkers and their admirers were shaken at their head and heart. Mystic ideas of the *Dohas* and *Charyas* were presented through analogy. Many images were chosen for expressing their real purpose. Image of the boat was presented in the *Charyas* of Saraha, Kanhu, Dombi and Kambalambara. Images of rat, deer etc. were described by Bhusukapada who was no other than Santarakshita[2]. On the philosophical plane a revolt was launched by *Siddhacharyas* against their contemporary religious formalities of Brahmanical and Buddhist sects of Nepal with special emphasis on the *Vajrayana*.

Although the enduring potency of the *Siddhacharyas* was a part and parcel of the heritage of the *Mahayana* Buddhist idea, the real intellectual alloy presented by them as the *Sahaja* philosophy became overwhemingly dominant throughout the period under review. A. Majumder writes that "this sect was squarely opposed to the Brahmanistic formalism and the Vedic method of ceremonial worship. The difference between *Vajrayana* and *Sahajayana* lay in the fact that with the diversity of its gods, conjured through incarnation, mystical syllables, rituals and worship, the *Vajrayana* way of meditation was far flung and difficult to traverse. The *Sahaja* ascetics were opposed to lying prostrate before wooden, earthen or stone idols. The *Sahaja* ascetics were explicit in their pronouncement that even the Buddha himself was ignorant of the way to attain

1. A. Mojumder, *The Charyapadas*, 1967, Calcutta, p. 44.
2. P. C. Bagchi and Santi Bhikshu Sastri, op. cit., Intr., pp. xvii-xxx.

supreme wisdom, what to speak of ordinary people".[1] In practical life they broke down the barriers of society through their frequent association with ladies of lower social order of Indian society. This survey and investigation show that much of their heterodoxy and criticism is a thing of heritage; the ideas found in the vernaculars are but infiltrations from the older ideas found in the different lines of criticism in the history of Indian religious thought, and these infiltrated ideas have been variously emphasised by the vernacular poets [the *Sahajayanists* or *Siddhas*] so as to give them a new colour and tone.[2] In this connection an observation made by D. L. Snellgrove in his introduction to *The Hevajra Tantra : A critical study*[3] sufficiently proves the plausibility of the activities of the *Siddhas*. The very material background of the society was in their favour. "The new elements are introduced, the effect of which is far reaching, there is no denying, but there is no essential break in the development of the doctrine. One might even claim that these new elements far from issuing in a degeneration, brought about a rejuvenation, nourished in the hidden well-springs of Indian religious life. For it is not philosopher who gives life to a religion, but the man who succeeds in practising it [*Yoga*]".[4] D. L. Snellgrove quotes that "Because it [*Yoga*] is free from doubt as to the oneness of its purpose, because of its absence of difficulty, because of its many methods, and because it is adapted to keen-senses, this *mantra* teaching is the best".[5]

S. Das Gupta has pointed it out as an off-shoot of Tantric Buddhism, it embodies the heterodoxy of Buddhism in general mixed up with the spirit of Tantricism. In it aversion towards discursive reason and scholastic erudition and in its stress on the practical side of religion we may find the spirit of Tantra and *Yoga* working together in it.[6]

1. A. Mojumder, op. cit., p. 51.
2. S. Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 61.
3. D. L. Snellgrove, op. cit., Part I (Introduction and Translation), 1st Ed. 1959, London. (A text composed during the eighth century of the Christian era.)
4. Ibid., Intr., p. 40.
5. Ibid.
6. S. Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 77.

CHAPTER III

Sankara And His Disciples In Nepal : A. D. 788-850

Condition Of Nepalese Buddhism Before Sankaracharya's Appearance In Nepal

The murder of Kamalasila in Tibet in A. D. 780 left a sad impression on the fate of Nepalese Buddhism. After this event no other Buddhist monk-scholar than the *Siddhas* preferred to visit Tibet for the sake of Tibetan Buddhism. The accidental deaths of Santarakshita and Kamalasila and mysterious disappearance of Padmasambhava from the Tibetan religious scene reveal an unfavourable situation for missionary activity. After the passing away of the Buddhist trio, therefore, we do not come across any Buddhist scholar of that standard.

The wandering *Siddhacharyas* failed to present "any theory of knowledge"[1]. Free lancing with religious ideas, unbriddled philosophization and creation of many analogies pregnant with ideological puns were characteristics of the *Siddhacharyas*. In the Buddhist hagiolatry of the eightyfour *Siddhas* each and every *Siddha* held his own independent religious emblem, folk ideological images full of grotesque interpretations and formed nihilistic school within already agreed views. Despite their unity of thoughts their actions were different. Their doctrine of *Sahaja* became a cult without spiritual discipline or rigour so far as realisation of truth or *Nirvana* was concerned. These points led to many internal contradictions which facilitated the task of the orthodox Brahmanical philosophers who were being patronised by the patrimonial kings in the changed social relations developing fast on feudal production relations. On the contrary the *Siddhas* were being gradually isolated by their own Buddhist monk-scholars whose privileged status they had attacked in the beginning. Above all their *Dohas* and the general philosophical standpoint of the *Charyapadas* as that of Tantric

1. Aruna Haldar, 'Philosophy of the Charyapadas', *The Calcutta Review*, Vol. 140, No. 3, 1956, p. 264.

Buddhist literature in general represented unsystematised motion of *Mahayana* philosophy.[1] This trend was going against the stereotype philosophical determinism of the *Mahayana* and *Vajrayana* sects of Nepal. Therefore, the *Siddhas* suffered their inherent weakness because of the lack of unity of actions, ideological coordinations and practical cooperation in their religious activites. Certainly these factors became suitable reasons so that Sankaracharya could get opportunity to criticise weak points and vascillating actions of the *Siddhas* of his time. Sankara was a dynamic personality of his time and he utilised his social and intellectual status in weakening the hold of Bnddhism in Nepal.

The Date Of Sankaracharya

There is a good controversy over the date of the birth of Sankaracharya. Even the famous Hindi biographer[2] of Sankaracharya has presented several confusing arguments based on legends and meaningless traditions to prove that Sankaracharya was born much earlier than A. D. 788, the well-known and accepted date of his birth. The late Rahula Sankrityayana[3] has proved beyond doubt that Sankaracharya flourished after Santarakshita, the first Buddhist monk-scholar belonging to the Buddhist trio. In this connection he has pointed out that Santarakshita flourished one hundred years before Vachaspati Misra who had pleaded for the cause of Sankaracharya's philosophical ideas in north India. He has stated that the famous work of Santarakshita, called *Tattvasamgraha* deals almost with all the philosophers and their works and ideas belonging to the Buddhist and Brahmanical schools preceding his time. But no mention has been made about Sankaracharya or his philosophical ideas. We cannot believe that Sankaracharya was overlooked by Santarakashita. Besides, our point of argument is that had Sankaracharya flourished before Santarakshita and attained victory of Hinduism, there is no reason why he would have been ignored in the illustrious work of the philosophical discussions of *Tattvasamgraha*. On this basis whatever B. Upadhyaya says is baseless.

1. S. Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 35.
2. Baladeva Upadhyaya, *Sri Sankaracharya* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1950, pp. 29-40.
3. R. Sankrityayana, *Buddhacharyya* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1952, p. 12.

An authentic opinion, however, is that Sankaracharya was born in A. D. 788 and died in A. D. 820.[1] This opinion has been supported and accepted in several researches done afterwards.[2]

A Life sketch of Sankaracharya

Sankaracharya is said to have become a *Sannyasin*[3] and well versed in the four *Vedas* at the age of eight years in A. D. 796[4]. He learnt the philosophy of *Advaita-Vedanta* from his contemporary elderly scholar Govindacharya[5] and accomplished all intellectual marvels at the age of twelve in A. D. 800[6]. He became famous as the *Bhashyakara* (commentator) in A. D. 804[7] and during the same period he did the great work of extricating the Badarinatha shrine from the clutches of Tantric sects and degenerate section of the people and also established the famous Advaita centre at Jyotirmatha[8]. The last days of his life were spent in Kanchi Kamakotipitha (A. D. 820)[9]. From these data it appears that he launched his famous *Padayatra* (journey on foot) between A. D. 804 and 820 and during this long period of sixteen years he served the cause of the revival of Hinduism on a practical level. Most probably during the same period he met many pseudo-*Saivas* in course of his *Digvijaya* and gave a crushing blow to the heterodox schools of thought on the ideological and metaphysical side and made way for a full fledged revival of popular Hinduism.

Visit of Sankaracharya to Nepal

In course of his *Digvijaya* Sankaracharya took an arodous trip to Nepal sometime during the last years of his life before his

1. K. B. Pathak, 'Date of Sankaracharya', *I.A.*, Vol. xi, 1882, p. 175; W. Logan, 'The Date of Sankaracharya', *I.A.*, Vol. xvi, 1887, p. 161.

2. J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, London, 1920, p. 171; R. Sankrityayana, *Buddhacharyya* (Hindi), p. 12; T. Goldstucker, *Sanskrit and Culture*, Calcutta, 1955, p. 126; R. C. Majumdar, ed., *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, Bombay, 2nd ed., 1964, p. 365; *fn*. Sivasoma, the *guru* of king Indravaraman was a disciple of Sankaracharya which supports the date A. D. 788 as birthdate of Sankaracharya.

3. Baldeva Upadhyaya, *Sri Sankaracharya*, p. 46.

4. K.B. Pathak, *I.A.*, Vol. xi, 1882, p. 175.

5. B. Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 49.

6. K.B. Pathak, op. cit.

7. Ibid. ,B. Upadhyaya, op., cit. p. 53.

8. B. Upadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 51-53.

9. Ibid., p. 121.

final settlement and demise at Kanchi Kamakotipitha. It was during his famous pilgrimage-cum-*digvijaya-abhiyana* (victory camaign), just after his trip to Mithila that he came to know about the sad phase of Hinduism in Nepal.

Reform of the Pasupatinatha Shrine

While in Nepal, Sankaracharya was struck hard by the wretched condition of the Pasupatinatha shrine. In the Hindu scriptures Pauspatinatha has been considered to have represented the *Yajamana Murti* and so it is like a human face.[1] This shrine of *Saivas* was in the grip of Nepalese Buddhists who were attracted to it being in human figure and as such they included it among the *Avalokitesvaras* of Nepal. According to traditions clustering round the *Pasupati Mahatmya* of Nepal Nepalese Buddhists used to celebrate Buddhist festival at the Pasupatinatha shrine in course of observing Buddha *Jayanti* on *Vaishakhi Purnima*. Even sacrifices were performed in the name of this *Saiva* deity and many obscene Tantric practices were observed after the festival. This pitiable condition touched the heart of Sankaracharya in Nepal where he watched with his disciples this declining stage of Hinduism.

In order to reform the conditions of the Pasupatinatha shrine Sankaracharya mobilised a great force among the Hindu population of Nepal with the assistance of his south Indian disciples accompanying him to Nepal. He exerted hard in restoring the original and regular worship of pusupatinatha in traditional Hindu style. He established some rules and regulations in this respect. He brought Nambudiri Brahmanas as *Pujaris* (priests) from his native place, Kerala in south India, and entrusted to them the duty of worship and welfare of the deity in the shrine[2]. Thus he accomplished a great task in favour of Hinduism in Nepal. The Pasupatinatha shrine under the control of *Sannyasins* became the centre of

1. B. Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 118.
2. C. V. Vaidya, *History of Medieval Hindu India :* Vol. ii, Poona, 1924, p. 216; B. Upadhyaya, op. cit., p. 158; Pratapaditya Pal, 'The Ancient Shrine of Pasupati Nath, Nepal', *PIHC*, 24th Session, 1958 p. 96; G. A. Natesan, ed., *India's Sacred Shrines and Cities*, Madras, N. D., p. 358.

Hinduism and henceforth it occupied a position of the national deity of Nepal where Hindus from all parts came to revere and worship.

Sankaracharya and Nepalese Buddhists

Having performed the task of extricating the shrine of Pasupatinatha from the hold of the Nepalese Buddhists, he turned his attention towards their monastic and social centres in Nepal. He was extremely exasperated by the Buddhist monks who were corrupt and engaged themselves in sexo-yogic practices of Tantric Buddhism in its *Pancha-makara* forms. In the garb of superficial celibacy Nepalese Buddhists were leading sensuous life in Nepalese monasteries[1]. As was his usual way of dealing with such situations, Sankaracharya convened meetings of Buddhists and after discussions on the doctrinal front, he defeated them and persuaded them to divorce false monkhood and celibacy[2]. They were compelled to marry the Buddhist *Bhikshunis* of the Budddhist *Viharas* and *vice-versa*[3]. The famous Charumati *Vihara* of Nepal was the centre of such activities where *Bhikshunis* were living in a large number[4].

Sankaracharya revived many Brahmanical religious ceremonies among the laity and restored the fashion of keeping *Sikha* following *Chuda-karma*[5] and putting on *Janau* (the sacred thread).

It has been mentioned that those defeated Nepalese Buddhists who finally accepted the supremacy of Sankaracharya's *Advaita Vedanta* were allowed to continue as the priests of Guhyesvari, the consort of Siva, and of other deities of the Hindu pantheon[6].

1. D. Wright, *History of Nepal*, Calcutta, 1958, 2nd edn., pp. 70-71; M. Bhattarai, *Newar Aur Unaki Sanskriti* (Hindi), Nepal, *V. S.* 2013=A. D. 1956, pp. 31-34.
2. Ibid.; R. C. Mitra, op. cit., p. 91.
3. D. Wright, op. cit., p. 71.
4. Ibid., p. 77. This place at present is called in Newari "Cha-Vahil" which is a corrupt form of Charumati-*vihara*.
5. D. Wright, op. cit., p. 71.
6. Ibid., p. 72.

Sankaracharya is also said to have visited the famous Manichura *Parvata* (mountain), an abode of Tantric Buddhist female deity, named *Mani Yogini*[1]. In this connection, so far as the point of Sankaracharya's successful seventh campaign to the Manichura *Parvata*[2] is concerned, was really an indiret way of putting a series of dicussions with the heretic saints living there whom he finally defeated and established orthodox Brahmanical cult for future. Afterwards Sankaracharya visited Mahakala temple by the western side of the Turi parade ground and revised its rules and regulations according to Hindu traditions and restored the Brahmanical rituals for worship and offerings[3].

Very rightly it has been remarked that Sankaracharya did for Buddhism in Nepal what the Buddha did in relation to Hinduism in India[4]. Nepal, being on weak plane of Buddhism lacked former talent in facing the philosophical or intellectual onslaughts of Sankaracharya.

We do not get further accounts of activities of Sankaracharya in Nepal. Therefore, it seems that he went back to his favourite Kanchi *Pitha* where he breathed his last in A. D. 820. Above all, the very theory of his visit to Nepal has been challenged by many scholars, because no epigraphic source or authentic literary work is at onr disposal to support Sankaracharya's role in Nepal. Only traditions are living among the people.

Work of Sankaracharya's Disciples in Nepal : A. D. 820-850

After the death of Sankaracharya in A. D. 820 at Kanchi Kamakotipitha no other Hindu leader is known to have visited Nepal. Naturally, Buddhism remained free from adversities in the valley of Kantipura. But the Buddhists of Nepal could not make any spectacular progress in this period.

Some archaeological materials have come to light which show the signs of Hindu revival around the area of the birthplace of

1. Ibid., p. 71.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. M. Bhattarai, op. cit. (Hindi), p. 34.

the Buddha, named Lumbini[1]. The region, being nearer to the Indian border, far more easily approachable than the Nepal valley proper to Indian Hindu revivalists, was visited by later Sankaracharyas. As Lumbini was the centre of attraction for the Buddhists of India, Nepal, Tibet and northern Buddhist countries this gave an opportunity to Hindu leaders to influence the Buddhist pilgrims who visited that place. At the same time this area was free from the Buddhistic pale of the ambitious Pala rulers of eastern India so that no hindrances were put in the way of the proselytising zeal of the *Sanatana* vanguards. Besides, this part of territorial belt of Nepal is nearer to Kasi where Sankaracharya had established an institutionalised *Saivite* centre which provided regular contact for maintaining the reforms made by Sankaracharya. The later disciples of Sankaracharya visited this Lumbini area of Nepal in order to popularise the doctrine of *Advaita Vedanta* and to infuse the ideas of Hindu revival among the local people. In the routine work of the *Saivite Sannyasins* express rules were laid down wherein "they were required to tour from village to village within their jurisdiction, settling disputes relating to caste, conduct or creed, solving the doubts and difficulties of local priests, advising the people to follow their Dharma"[2] From this it appears that Hindu population of this region around the Indo-Nepalese border were in contacts of Hindu guides to their religious observances.

Remains of Hindu deities at Sonagarh on the junction of Bel and Sukhbel and at Kudan are noteworthy in respect of presenting testimony to Hindu revival in this region of Nepal[3]. At these places the archaeological evidences regarding flourishing religious establishments have been found ascribable to A.D. ninth century.[4] Other sites of interest at Karidah, Sagarwa near Muhammadpur and other scattered spots are also important showing the remains of the Brahmanical deities.[5] The remains of deities found in these centres

1. *Indian Archaeology : 1961-1962*—A *Review*, New Delhi : 1964, pp. 70-73.
2. S. K. Das, *Educational System of the Ancient Hindus*, Calcutta, 19[illegible] p. 390.
3. *Indian Archaeology*, op. cit., pp. 70-71.
4. Ibid., p.71.
5. Ibid.

are of Kartikeya, Chamunda, Mahishamardini and other *Saivite* deities.[1] Fragments of other Hindu deities have been found there in a large quantity.[2] In our opinion all these things bear the impress of Hindu revival launched by Sankaracharya later on strengthened by his wandering *Sannyasins* during A. D. ninth century. Thus because of Sankaracharya's Brahmanical revival in these areas Buddhism suffered an occasional decline. No link could be formed between the Buddhists of this area and the Pala kings who were great patrons of Buddhism. Welfare of Buddhism also suffered in those areas of Nepal which were situated far from the routes of visits of Tibetan or Nepalese Buddhists to India. Indeed the areas noted above were favourable to the Hindu revival because of the loss of contacts with the Buddhist centres of eastern India which presented an additional adverse stress over Nepalese Buddhism.

An Estimate of the work of Sankaracharya in Nepal

In presence of different opinions of European scholars on Sankaracharya's work in Nepal this religious leader has become an enigmatic personality. He is said to have burnt the Buddhist scriptures of Nepal[3] as Turkish invaders are supposed to have done in Bihar and Bengal during the beginning of A. D. thirteenth century. It has also been mentioned that Sankaracharya assisted in killing of the Buddhists of Nepal after they were defeated in encounters of discussion and debates[4]. However, these generalisations presented by European scholars regarding activities of Sankaracharya are cheap and facile. Because of their ignorance about the nature of differences between Hinduism and Buddhism they treated the religious tension in Nepal as their own religious traditions full of wars and bloodshed.

1. Ibid., pp. 71-73.
2. Ibid.
3. B.H. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 14, 48; D. Wright, op. cit., pp. 70-72; F. Tucker, *Gurkha*, London, 1957, p.98.
4. D. Wright, op. cit.; F. Tucker, op. cit.

The Nepalese Brahmanas regard Sankaracharya as a social reformer and religious purifier for his logical monistic system,[1] social and religious reforms in Nepal. Indeed, Sankaracharya's conversion was an important fact in the religious history of Nepal between the creation of a Buddhist atmosphere under the missionary zeal of Asoka and the establishment of the Natha cult by Gorakhanatha during A. D. ninth century. However, Sankaracharya re-established Brahmanism based on inequality and caste oriented feudalism. The unity of godhead and essence of soul-*Brahma* relations were raised to unfathomable height of abstractness[2] which assumed isolated phenomena for the social being. In spite of his formidable ideological armoury of pessimism expressed through *Mayavada* his social outlook was self centred. He advocated the social philosophy of the *Gautama Smriti* that molten glass and lac should be poured down the ear of the *Sudra* who listens to the *Vedic* word: वेदमुपशृण्वतः (शूद्रस्य) त्रपुजम्यां श्रोतप्रतिपूरणम्. It appears that despite his all logical marvels he failed to liberate himself of medieval traditionalism, Brahmanism and shackles of social stratifications. Sankaracharya had covered vast areas during his pilgrimages to Indian and Nepalese shrines. He came across many political and social ideas flourishing during his life time. But his vision could not go beyond the orthodox Brahmanical traditions. He was ignorant of the early Indian republican traditions. In his commentaries and treatises he always referred to the monarchical traditions. Besides, Sindh was exposed to the brunt of first iconoclast Islamic invasion during his life time, but his high sounding doctrines of the void and Brahmanism failed to evaluate the significant consequences of the Islamic forces. On the contrary, his role in Nepal was contradictory to his high philosophical formulations so far as revival of Brahmanism through formalities of putting on *Sikha* and *Janau* are concerned. Sometimes traditional socio-religious trends are repeated

1. *Brahmasutrasankarabhashya*, edited and translated by Satyananda Saraswati Swami, Varanasi, 1971, pp. 10-28.

2. *The Brahmasutra Sankarabhashya of Sri Sankaracharya*, edited and translated by Hanumandas Sastri, Varanasi, 1964, part I, pp. 14-28; *Vedantasara of Sadananda*, edited by R. Tripathi, Varanasi, 1968, pp. 1.70, S. S. Swami, op. cit., pp. 5-9.

in special social situations because of unchanging mode of production and disinterest of great thinkers towards the forces of new economic conditions generally emerging after foreign invasions. During Sankaracharya's life time the parallel currents of thoughts of the Buddhist *Siddhacharyas* were flowing in eastern India and Nepal in the wake of social and political changes of their time. Buddhists were conscious of those forces which is evident from their *Dohas* and *Charya* songs. However, the Brahmanical forces long held in subjection by the Buddha, Asoka and many Buddhist and non-Brahmanical thinkers during the following centuries in India were set free through traditional interpretations of socio-religious problems made by Sankaracharya to follow their natural course of reactionary growth.

Max Weber's analysis of the *Vedanta* philosophy of Sankaracharya is that the proud denial of any form of belief in god, and the acknowledgement of the reality of being in *Sankhya* doctrine were inevitably more congenial to a stratum of cultured Brahmanas and lay intellectuals drawn from knightly circles in the time before the development of great kingdoms, than it could be to pure priestly caste, especially when this caste stood under the protection of the great patrimonial kings[1]. Besides, the mystic nature of the holy, so determining their teachings, resulted from the internal situation of a stratum of intellectuals who as thinkers face life and ponder its meaning but do not share its practical tasks as doers[2]. Only the Brahmanical school stood fast on the principle that only a member of the "twice-born" (*Dvija*) castes could attain salvation. The *Sankhya* school had no scruples against viewing even the *Sudra* as capable of salvation[3]. Similarly the logical proficiency of Sankaracharya is clearly depicted in his *Vedanta* commentaries. But he could not rise above the medieval traditions which were being attacked from many non-Brahmanical angles of thinking. His vision was unhistorical and was blinded by Brahmanism and cloudy speculation of monistic

1. Max Weber, *The Religion of India : the Sociology of Hinduism and Buddhism*, Now York, 1958, p. 176.
2. Ibid., p. 177.
3. Ibid., p. 235.

Vedanta. As a matter of fact the *Upanishadic* texts are anthologies of views expressed by many early Indian thinkers which were to be examined in the light of changing social situations. But Sankaracharya did not expose the internal contradictions of the *Upanishads*. On the contrary, he blindly accepted the opinion of Badarayana Vyasa: तत्तु समन्वयात् and accepted the entire bulk of the *Upanishads* as the rubber stamps of monism and its ancillary theory of the void. Thus his ideas condoned the rigid class distinctions, allowing a privileged position to the priestly aristocracy of his *Saiva* sects. Thus he appears to be the first to have systematically developed the particularly incongruous *Vedanti* doctrine that *Brahma-Para-Brahma* was—the personally highest, and at bottom single, God[1].

It is said that because of the religious and intellectual onslaughts of Sankaracharya Buddhism had to take refuge in Nepal which is evident from the narratives of his significant religious discourses in *Sankara Digvijaya*, an anonymous work written during late period. However, it is not a fact, because the Buddhists of India became panicky on the occasion of the Turkish invasions as late as the beginning of A.D. thirteenth century. No evidence of his conversation with any Buddhist scholar is known to us in the same way as no mention has been made of intellectual discussion of the Buddha with any *Upanishadic* scholar. Above all, the very fact that he revived Brahmanism at the cost of losses to the Buddhist society of Nepal is baseless. Had he replaced Buddhism in Nepal with his *Vedanta* through his triumphant debates with the Buddhists, the worship of the Matsyendranatha, in fact, an incarnation of the *Bodhisattva* in Nepal would not have continued. As a matter of fact a large number of modern Brahmanical scholars in India and some European scholars interested in the Nepalese politics during the later part of the nineteenth century presented Sankaracharya as an enigmatic personality when they evaluated his work in Nepal.

European scholars like B. H. Hodgson, D. Wright, F. Tucker etc. have held Sankaracharya responsible for burning the Buddhist scriptures and killing of Buddhist monks in Nepal and finally propagated that he encountered with the Tibetan mystic saints

1. Max Weber, op. cit., p. 299.

who killed him in the end[1]. An examination of their writings reveals their Europo-centric approach to the oriental socio-religious problems in the wake of their colonial intellectual activities. They exercised their Anglofile attitude in setting one section of Nepalese relgious thinkers against the other. B. H. Hodgson was the pioneer of this school [2] whose writings on Nepal were blindly accepted on continental basis by later European writers such as S. Levi, D. Wright, F. Tucker etc.

The Brahmanical scholars have eulogised the role of Sankara-charya in Nepal beyond expectations as described above. An investigation of this school of advocates shows that common man had no place in it because the medium of Sankara's advocacy of *Brahman* and concentric discussion of migration of soul to the next world leading to exposition of *Vairagya* or investigation of matter was beyond the perception of mortal beings. Then also, the common people were left helpless at the disposal of priestly organisations of *Saiva* sect. The plea that the *Charya* songs and the *Dohas* of the Buddhist *Siddhas* had no theory of knowledge or system of philosophy is a class-ridden observation. Athough they had no religious philosophy on the stereotype line of the Brahmanical jargons the Buddhist *Siddhas* had a social philosophy through which they refuted intellelctual sovereignty of the Sanskit language for mastery over the branches of Indology and as such they disapproved the objectivity of *Prasthanatrayi*[3]. The *Siddhacharyas* composed their *Dohas* and *Charyas* in *Apabhransa*, the language of the masses. Monotheistic cult, and Sanskrit oriented sophisticated scholarship of Sankara had their origin in the feudal structure of Indo-Nepalese Brahmanical society. Unity of godhead was against the polytheistic religious eclecticism of common men. Therefore, monotheism of *Vedanta* was nothing but imperialism in Indo-Nepalese religious experiences supported by landlord-bourgeois views. Above all

1. B. H. Hodgson, op. cit., pp. 14,48; D. Wright, op. cit., pp. 70-72; F. Tucker, op. cit., p. 98.

2. B. H. Hodgson (op. cit.), has advocated the cause of colonising Nepal which he describes as the congenial ground for the European colonisers.

3. A Brahmanical strategy to establish an objective image of scholarship through writing commentaries on the *Upanihads*, the *Bhagavadgita* and the *Brahmasutra*.

Sankara's religious organisations were Brahmana-centric camp in which no equal status was given to the non-Brahmana entrants. Tendency to enlist and prefer a Brahmana or upper caste member in *Saiva Akhara* was very strong. Thus Sankara's *Vedanta* could not dominate Nepalese life and institutions which it maintained in India under the support of feudal rulers. In India also it could dominate because of its comprehensive prescriptions for protecting the social rights of upper social orders and eminent individuals, for its sophisticated standards of intellectual and moral arguments. In these matters its ideals were appropriated from Buddhism.

The role of Sankaracharya exposed his ambivalent religious personality more in Nepal than that he did in India. Like the philosophers of *Mimansa* he criticised the Buddhist idealism more severely than the *Vedic* ones which is evident from his *Prasthanatrayi* commentaries. In all his arguments he is strictly attached to the orthodox Brahmanical traditions and he expressed his ideas in support of ideological protection to the cause of feudalism. Main criterion of feudal idea of feudal social relation was based on immobile or repetitive mode of production. This feature of feudalism was reflected in ideological field of Sankara where he ignored the elements of realities in process of change of matter and rise of new elements in life. His ideas regarding the *Brahma, Nirguna* and concept of purity are aloof of change and transformation. This characteristic vagueness was presented by him to protect the feudal relations which is gleaned from his support to the privileges regarding studies of the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* by members of the upper social order. At extreme of his refutations he criticised few rituals and *Karmakandas* advocated by *Mimansa* philosphy but in the end of his philosophical ventures he presented his own code of new *Karmakandas* and laws. He also composed many hymns of prayer to gods and goddesses. Thus his views are full of many contradictions and inner contradictions which reflect the social relations of the powerful feudal society, landlord bourgeois section and the intellectual elites.

Truly speaking Buddhism was in a state of steady decay when Sankaracharya appeared on the scene in Nepal[1]. It was dying out of inner exhaustion even though it had not been deprived of royal favour[2]. Just at this stage the advent of Sankaracharya for a period became a factor in making Buddhism unpopular in Nepal. However, he did neither burn the Buddhist scriptures nor did he assist in killing Nepalese Buddhists. This is pure fabrication of European colonial mind. The corrupt Buddhist monks of Nepal and their superficial celibacy were enough to sound their decline which had already started earlier. The general fate of Buddhism in respect of its decline can be witnessed during this period in eastern India[3]. In this connection the condition of Nepalese Buddhism during this period was a projection of the Indian religious scene. It could not continue to be the living and forceful religion of the period. To a great extent it remained as the brain child of wealthy and privileged monks who were losing their hold fast in the society. The *Siddhacharyas*, however, on the other hand loitered and recited the *Dohas* and *Charya* songs among the common folk, the down-trodden of the Indo-Nepalese society. They broke down all social barriers which reconciled with the changing mode of production and human values[4]. Buddhist Tantras which developed in Nepal in this connection, played significant role in socialising the people in the Buddhist culture.

1. R. C. Mitra, op. cit., p. 95
2. Ibid., pp. 92, 95.
3. D. Kosambi, *Bharatiya Samskriti Aur Ahimsa* (Hindi), Bombay, 1948, p. 158; H.K. Mehtab, *The History of Orissa*, Lucknow, 1949, pp. 62-63; U. Mishra, 'Influence of the Teachings of the Buddha and the Causes of the Decline of Buddhism in India', *The Journal of Ganganatha Jha Research Institute*, Vol. ix, Part i, 1951; P. Thomas, *Colonies and Foreign Missionaries of Ancient India*, Int., p. 4; *The Story of the Cultural Empire of India*, Ernakulam, p. 199.
4. N. N. Basu, op. cit., pp. 1-25; R. Sankrityayana, *Buddhacharyya*, Introduction; *Dohakosa of Sarahapada*, Introduction; P. C. Bagchi and S. B. Sastri (ed.), op. cit., Santiniketan, pp. i-xxxxii; A. Mojumder, op. cit., pp. 10-26, 56-79.

CHAPTER IV

NATHAPANTHA AND NEPALESE BUDDHISM A. D. 850-940

Religious Condition of Nepal Before the Visit of Gorakhanatha

The influence of Sankaracharya in Nepal was so strongly felt by the Nepalese Buddhists during the early decades of A. D. ninth century that they had to compromise with several non-Buddhist cults. Nepalese Buddhism sacrificed many characteristics which is evident from the development of new Buddhist pantheon. This change had direct bearing over the religious feelings of the Nepalese Buddhists. H. D. Bhattacharyya remarks that "From about the tenth century a composite Tantra, drawing materials from Brahmanic, Buddhistic and Nathist circle, grew up, and some deities, adepts, cults and practices became common to all of them, though the traditions did always tally among the different communities and localities[1]. In the same continuation it has also been stated that "Denominationally and geographically considered,.....*Vamachara*, *Siddhantachara* and *Kaulachara* [are patronised] among the *Saktas* of Kerala, Gauda, Nepal and Kamarupa"[2]. This led to the development of mythical Bodhisattvas in the Buddhist pantheon of Nepal where many artists adopted the model of Bodhisattvas as their favourite art-designs in order to fulfil demands of the Buddhists of Nepal and of other countries beyond the Himalayas. The Bodhisattvas made in Nepal were embedded with the divine characteristics of the Brahmanical gods. The so-called universality of the Buddhist ideals of art in Nepal were lost in personal likes and dislikes of the Nepalese Buddhists, although the art modes of the Bodhisattvas in Nepal were based on the prescribed prayers and methods of the worship mentioned in the *Mahayana* texts. Relaxation of this type in

1. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. i, Hindu Period, pp. 385-387; (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 323.

2. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 323.

Nepalese Buddhism gave birth to "Neo-Buddhism" which incorporated many non-Buddhist cults.

The establishments of Sankaracharya in Nepal prospered on account of liberal grants of the Hindus. Besides, wandering Brahmanical saints, Hindu pilgrims from India flocked to Nepal on the occasion of every *Sivaratri*[1]. The vital link of Hindu pilgrimage from India to Nepal and *vice-versa* revived by Sankaracharya and his disciples not only strengthened the cause of Brahmanical awakening but also distorted the spiritual genesis of Nepalese Buddhism. So it failed to preserve its impervious nature from the influences of later religious and social acculturation.

Nepalese Buddhism suffered because of the presence of neo-Buddhists in its organisation. These entrants became formidable centrifugal forces for its future existence. Similarly many Buddhists, either voluntarily or impelled by the rising tides of Brahmanism joined non-Buddhist cults and hampered the prestige of Nepalese Buddhists. This was the state of affairs in religious life when Gorakhanatha entered Nepal for presentinsg his ambivalent roles, because be was a Buddhist earlier and a *Nathapanthi* later[2]. However, the personality and his achievements were so magnetic and effective that it revolutionised the entire frame of thinking and working of religious life in Nepal.

The Date of Gorakhanatha : A. D. 850-900

The birthplace of Gorakhanatha is lost in the myriad of controversial opinions of scholars. Gorakhanatha was the disciple of Matsyendranatha, who, in turn, was the son of Minapa, a contemporary of the Pala ruler, Devapala (A.D. 810-850)[3]. R. Sankrityayana mentions that the period of the eighty-four *Siddhas* is A. D.

1. A Brahmanical festival for worshipping Pasupatinatha, the national deity of Nepal.

2. H.P. Sastri (Int.), op. cit., by N. Vasu, p. 9; N.K. Sahu, *Buddhism in Orissa*, Cuttack, 1958, p. 174.

3. H.P. Sastri, op. cit., p. 9; N. Vasu, op. cit., p. 123; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, vol. i, pp. 116-126. The date of Devapala supplied by Sastri and Vasu is wrong. R. Sankrityayana, *Puratattva Nibandhavali* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1958, Second edn., p. 120; R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, p. 50. He puts the date of Devapala as A.D. 810-850.

750-1175[1]. Gorakhanatha's time starts one century after the beginning of this period. Therefore, little doubt is left about the authenticity of this date assigned to Gorakhanatha which covers the second half of A. D. ninth century. Account of Nathapantha presented by Hazari Prasad Dwivedi in his thesis *Natha-Sampradaya* (Hindi)[2]. Gorakhanatha has been studied as a co-worker of his *Guru* Matsyendranatha. Several manuscripts like *Mahakaulajnana Vinirnaya*, *Kamakhya Guhya Tantra* etc. preseved in the *Veer Pustakalaya* in Nepal are works of Matsyendranatha or Machchhagnapada who flourished during A. D. ninth century.[3] Dr. Mohan Singh also argues authentically that Gorakhanatha flourished between the ninth and the tenth centuries[4]. Nepalese sources agree with our points that Matsyendranatha had been the contemporary saint of Narendradeva, the king of Nepal who had been referred to in the inscription of Jayadeva II of Nepal (A. D. 743-759).[5] The cult of *Avalokitesvara* Matsyendranatha was introduced to Nepal during A. D. eighth century. In his famous work *Natha Sampradaya*, Hazari Prasad Dwivedi also concludes that Gorakhanatha flourished in the A. D. ninth century. Therefore, the view of G. W. Briggs that Gorakhanatha was the predecessor of Sankaracharya (A. D. 781-820) is wrong[6]. Had Gorakhanatha flourished before Sankaracharya, he would have surely been referred to among the latter's intellectual adversaries. This proves that he flourished later than Sankaracharya. The date of Gorakhanatha examined by R. D. Ranade and J. N. Farquhar is not convincing[7]. There is sound logic in the statement, therefore, that Gorakhanatha flourished during the middle of A. D. ninth century. No influential

1. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., pp. 126-127.
2. Allahabad, 1950.
3. S. M. Joshi, *Nepali Rashtriya Mudra* (Nepali), Lalitapura, Nepal, 1953, pp. 16-11.
4. *Gorakhanatha and Medieval Hindu Mysticism*, Lahore, 1937.
5. D.R. Regmi, op. cit., p. 160.
6. G. W. Briggs, *Gorakhanatha and the Kanaphata Yogis*, Calcutta, 1938, pp. 241, 248.
7. R. D. Ranade, *History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. vii, Part vii, Poona, 1936, p. 29; J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, Delhi, 2nd ed., 1966, pp. 234-235, 258-254.

and magnanimous personality other than Gorakhanatha appeared in India after Sankaracharya[1]. Just after Sankaracharya and before the *Bhakti* movement of early medieval Indian history the greatest religious movement of *Yogamarga* was launched by Gorakhanatha.[2]

The Legend of Twenty Years Meditation and Religious Work of Gorakhanatha in Nepal

The mission of Gorakhanatha's visit to Nepal was to meet his *Guru* Matsyendranatha who had retired to hilly place of Nepal. So Gorakhanatha played a trick for approaching his teacher. He caught hold of nine *Nagas* of Nepal, coiled them and sat over them. Consequently drought came over Nepal, people suffered from starvation for twenty years and ultimately they went to the king with complaint that Gorahanatha had caused this calamity for bringing down his *Guru*. The king and his *Guru* Buddhadatta examined this problem and the latter went to the Kapotaka mountain where Matsyendranatha was meditating. Having heard of the happening Matsyendranatha came down and met Gorakhanath. Therefore, nine *Nagas* were freed, drought and hardship came to an end followed by heavy rains.

This legend indicates some social and economic reforms made by Gorakhanatha for the welfare of the people of Nepal. His control over nine *Nagas* symbolises his overpowering of inauspicious social forces in his way. Rains represent measures taken for improving irrigation facilities. Expression of real purpose was difficult and risky because of socio-religous persecutions of well-established Brahmanical system. Therefore, non-Brahmanical or extra-Brahmanical socio-religious reformers of the day had to take resort to different analogies in order to present real objectives. His predeessor, *Siddhacharyas* practised similar analogies for their anti-Brahmanical activities.

Important contribution of Gorakhanatha was the creation of four centres of Nathapantha in Nepal. For continuing his activity

1. H.P. Dwivedi, *Natha Sampradaya*. pp. 54, 96.
2. Ibid., op. cit., p. 96.

in future Gorakhanatha also instituted an open *Ratha-Yatra*, called the Matsyendra-*Yatra*[1].

Among four centres established by Gorakhanatha, first was the *Bugma* Matsyendra of Lalitapura, called the *Rato* Matsyendra (red Matsyendra); second was the *Arya Avalokitesvara* (Matsyendra-natha of Kantipura), called the *Seto* Matsyendra (white Matsyendra); third was the *Nala* Matsyendra (north of Banepa); and fourth was the *Adinatha* (Chobhara Matsyendra), lying east of Kirtipura. Thus Gorakhanatha did something in Nepal what Sankaracharya had done in India.

Nathapantha as Developed by Gorakhanatha in Nepal

Accounts of the role of Gorakhanatha in Nepal reveal eye opening facts. Post-Sankaracharya and pre-Gorakhanatha period was undergoing a phase of religious and philosophical indecision because of Buddhist and neo-Buddhist tensons. At this juncture Matsyendra-natha had presented his *Yogini* cult, a transition from *Saivism* to *Saktism*[2]. In this cult *Siva* was worshipped with his *Saktis*[3] which was flourishing well from A. D. eighth century to the tenth century[4]. Matsyendranatha held the position of a national divinity of Nepal[5]. His role was not less than that of Pasupatinatha and was also worshipped as *Lokesvara*. Nepalese Buddhist communities worshipped Matsyendranatha as *Avalokitesvara* and the Hindus worshipped Pasupatinatha as *Siva*. Under these double socio-religious stresses Buddhism was bound to suffer in Nepal so far as its privileged status enjoyed by *Vajrayana* cult is concerned.

1. D. Wright, op. cit., p. 89. This *Yatra* was revived by Gunakamadeva, the king of Nepal (A. D. 942-1008).

2. V. W. Karambelkar, 'Matsyendranatha and His Yogini Cult', I.H.Q., Vol. xxxi, No. 4, 1955, p. 362.

3. Ibid., p. 373.

4. Ibid.; R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. i, p. 343.

5. D. L. Snellgrove, *Buddhist Himalaya*. Oxford, 1957 p. 113.

Philosophical and Religious Work of Gorakhanatha in Nepal

Kaleidoscopic roles of Gorakhanatha in different capacities gave him opportunities to examine merits and demerits of religious cults of his time. In the beginning he was a Buddhist monk, named Ramana Vajra[1]. When he became a Natha *Yogi* he was called heretic by the Nepalese Buddhists[2]. Like his *Guru* who was originally a Tantric Buddhist and later became a Saivite *Yogi*[3], he propagated the ideas of Tantra with certain modifications[4]. This new cult of special type advocated by Gorakhanatha was an alloy of *Hathayoga* and Buddhist Tantricism.[5] It was devised by him to suit the exigencies of Nepalese religious sentiment. Gorakhanatha, therefore, presented a systematic treatise of *Yogas*[6]. He classified the famous *Sadhanas* of *Kayayoga* on the basis of *Saivapratyabhijnana* philosophy[7]. He regulated the *Chakras* with the help of self-realisation and *Saiva* traditions[8]. He purged anti-Brahmanical and non-Brahmanical *Sadhana-marga* in such a way that its unorthodox forms remained untainted and its crude, useless and superstitious ones became futile.[9] In this connection he adopted local dialects as media for his preachings[10].

Gorakhanathas' sermons on *Hathayoga* were not different from old traditions[11]. It is said that he practised a form of *Yoga* much inferior to that taught by the Buddha or Patanjali who considered

1. H.P. Sastri (Intr.), *Modern Buddhism and Its Followers in Orissa*, p.9; R.M. Nath, *The Background of Assamese Culture*, Shillong, 1948, p. 46; N. K. Sahu, op. cit., p. 174.
2. H. P. Sastri, op. cit.; N. K. Sahu, op. cit.
3. N. K. Sahu, op. cit.
4. R. M. Nath, op. cit.
5. R.M. Nath, op. cit., p.46; Pitambaradatta Barathwal (Editor and Translator), *Gorakha-Bani*, Prayag (Allahabad), 1942, pp. 179-185.
6. H. P. Dwivedi, op. cit., p. 98.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Ibid., p. 7.

the concentration of mind a definite point of the process to attain salvation[1]. But Gorakhanatha tried to restrict the internal wind leading it from *Muladhara* (below the abdomen) to the forehead and to attain success or *Siddhi* in this world instead of salvation[2].

Gorakhanatha assimilated the rites and tenets from various sources. Through his *Sabadi* he shows close association with messages of the Prophet Muhammad. In this connection he maintained his rebellious spiritual image adhering to unorthodox cult. With the help of analogies he advocated the principle of rapprochment between Hindus and Muslims. It is wrong to call him a heretic Buddhist. He passed from Buddhism to Saivism to please his contemporary rulers of Nepal for the cause of his cult. However, he did not compromise with the *Vamamargis*[3] of Nepal. He emphasised over yogic practices[4] and supported the laity in contacts with the *Yogis*[5].

Chemical School of Nathapantha in Nepal

Association of the Nathapanthis with the *Rasayana* school facilitated their activities in popularising their cult in Nepal[6]. The Natha *Siddhas* and the *Rasa Siddhas* were allied to each other regarding their ultimate object of immortality although they made different approaches to Nathapantha. *Rasa Siddhas* were herbologists of Nathapantha who served the society with their knowledge of cures of diseases. In this respect Gorakhanatha presented a suitable alternative treatise dealing with food, drink, medicinal plants etc. On the basis of his past association with the Buddhist oraganisation which maintained a well documented text concerning *Bhaishajya* as mentioned in the *Patimokkha* (Bhikkhu Vibhanga and Bhikkhuni Vibhanga), the *Mahavagga*, the *Bhesajjakkhandhaka* of the *Vinaya Pitaka*. Gorakhanatha rendered a great service to

1. H. P. Sastri (Intr.), op. cit., p.8.
2. Ibid.
3. H. P. Dwivedi, *Madhyayugina Dharmasadhana* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1952, pp. 74-75.
4. Ibid.
5. P. Barathwal, op. cit., *Sabadi*, pp. 3-5 (Nos. 5-11)
6. S. Das Gupta. op. cit., p. 289.

the down-trodden section having no material means of curing diseases in the Nepalese society. In fact he was not in support of the *Rasayana*[1] school although he was its founder. He advocated only those parts of this school which were directly concerned with the healing measures of physical ailments.

Gorakhanatha was vigilant to the social and religious conditions of Nepal. He had already realised the futility of illusion of *Vedanta* and allied philosophical entanglements of Sankaracharya in Nepal. But he was himself entrapped in his own jumble of the yogic *Chakras.* In order to adjust his ideological position with the extant religious sects and social values of his time he had to compromise with them in many ways. He borrowed freely from the early Buddhist texts ideas of herbal treatment for his *Rasayana* school. He based his yogic ideas on the Saiva Tantras and supplied a suitable Tantric school known as *Hathayoga.* In intellectual and philosophical fields he surpassed the role played by Sankaracharya. Sankaracharya had created an ideological stir of a vast magnitude through his logical *Vedanta* without coming to a determined goal. He consumed a significant period in spreading the class consciousness among the Nepalese Brahmanas making Buddhism a focal point of his attack. To a great extent he was a self-complacent thinker in uniting the Brahmanical class through Sanskrit. But he failed to impart a mass appeal to the *Vedanta* or monotheism in Nepal. It was Gorakhanatha who, through his avid scholarship, sound experiences of long travels, *Sabadi* composed in dialects and sublime yogic ideals could bind the human beings in one thread i.e., *yoga.* He exploited the philosophical wealth of Nepalese Buddhism and of several preceding religious cults in Nepal. In this connection he presented a greater socio-religious role than that of Sankaracharya.

Lamaism and Nathapantha in Nepal

Gorakhanatha examined the characteristic features of Lamaism in Nepal where an important centre (Bodhanatha) was popularly

1. "रसेच रसायनं च धातुवाद्यतथैवच ।
तृणवत् सत्यंजेत् सर्वं यद्यत्प्राप्तमुपागतम् ॥
Goraksha Samhita

revered by the Lamas of Nepal, Tibet, China and other trans-Himalayan regions. Lamaism was cultivating a vast area of religious sentiments because of its comprehensiveness[1]. It combined all Tantric tenets of Buddhism, a mixture of priestly Saivite mysticism, magic, Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by a thin varnish of *Mahayana* Buddhism within its fold[2]. The bronze and ivory sculptures of Nepal worked out during A. D. 800 and 1200 reflect the Lamaist characteristics[3]. In religious organisation it assumed a system of control over its whole-time preachers known as Lamarchy.

Gorakhanatha systematised his ideas and devised an organisation for the realisation of his goals of the *Hathayoga* in Nepal. Although he could not convert the Lamaist Buddhists into his Nathapanthi sect, he was successful in preventing its further growth. His *Rasayana* school, *Sabadi* and *Hathayoga* stood parallel against the *Bhaishajya* school, *Charyapadas* of the *Siddhacharyas* and Lamaism respectively. His alternative religious analogies publicised through his *Sabadi* became lovely dicta among the down-trodden Nepalese social groups.

An Estimate of Gorakhanatha in Nepal

In spite of his revolutionary role in the religious life of Nepal no definite chronological account of Gorakhanatha's activity could be presented. On the basis of the foregoing account it appears that Gorakhanatha went to Nepal in A. D. 850. He spent twenty years' period in examining socio-religious conditions of Nepal. It means he started his proselytising activity in A. D. 870. Upto A. D. 900 he had been active regarding his religious establishments in Nepal. The last few years of his life may have been spent in India.

However, in response to injustice, socio-economic inequality and class collaborationist attitudes of orthodox Brahmanical philosophers in the train of Sankaracharya in a society dominated by landlord bourgeois class it was not possible for Gorakhanatha to present a well devised standard of ideological revolt as the *Siddhacharyas* could present. Nevertheless, it is evident from his *Sabadi*

1. L. A. Waddell, op. cit., p. 30.
2. Ibid.
3. 'Sex In Medieval Indian Art', 9th Session, *PIHC*, 1946, p. 174.

that he was restless because of class feeling, persecution of lower social order by privileged classes and protection given to their interests. He advocated an ideal of casteless society which is evident from his assimilative doctrine of the *Hathayoga* which accepted a large number of dissidents from the sects of *Kapalikas*, *Saktas*, *Kaulas*, *Lokayatas*, *Sauras*, *Ganapatyas*, *Chinacharas* etc.[1] He criticised the scholars edicted to cramming of holy scriptures as parrots practise in repeating words without having knowledge of their meaning[2]. He attacked well recognised scholars who could domonstrate their stereotype scholarship in public or royal courts without having practical experiences[3]. He exhorted not to argue with scholars because their scholastic conceit was a type of foolishness unable to impart real knowledge. It was useless, therefore, to waste time in discussion. He also stated not to fight with king because he had no willpower for controverting with a *Sadhaka*[4].

Time of Gorakhanatha was passing through the process of proliferation of the caste system little affected by the Islamic socio-religious forces which entered Indian society more than two centuries before. Even if one expected some changes because of the changing social and production relations in the light of Indo-Arab ties in Indian social institutions, the followers and admirers of Sankaracharya and the orthodox Brahmanical scriptures failed to give cognisance to these changes because of their obsession with lucrative social relations based on the caste system and their respective aversions against the lower social orders. Gorakhanatha observed this corrosive impact of the caste system on Indian society and accordingly he extricated his cult from the class ridden interests of the Brahmanas. He kept his ideological complex aloof of medieval prejudices. He always cited the examples and dicta connected with the republican traditions in presenting the analogies through his *Sabadi*. Like the Buddhist *Siddhacharyas* he also

1. Rangeya Raghava, *Gorakhanatha Aur Unaka Yuga* (Hindi), Atmaram and Sons., Delhi, 1963, pp. 152-156.

2. P. Barathwal, op. cit., pp. 42-43 (Nos. 119-121).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid., p. 43.

patronised the local dialects for composing his *Sabadi* and gave secondary position to Sanskrit. In this connection he got whole hearted support of the Nepalese people because of his simple and unsophisticated modes of expression and ideas.[1]

Decline of Nathapantha in Nepal

Passing away of Gorakhanatha in A. D. 900 from the religious scene of Nepal was highly disadvantageous to the prospect of Nathapantha in Nepal. Vested interests of the Brahmanical society of Nepal reappeared under the support of the Nepalese elite society at the cost of Nathapantha. An instance of the revival of the *Matsyendra Yatra* during the reign of Gunakamadeva (A. D. 942-1008)[2] was an occasional episode with the people's co-operation. Among the reasons for the decay of Nathapantha reappearance of the *Rasayana* school, sexo-yogic practices under the garb of the worship of *Sakti*, discontinuance of the original *Hathayoga* of Gorakhanatha, decline in simple and unsophisticated ways of living of the Nathapanthis and class collaborations with the Brahmanical society against the rising Nepalese Buddhist society may be important factors. For convenience of chronology the period before the accession of Gunakamadeva (A. D. 942-1008)[3] to the throne of the valley of Kathmandu may be proposed for decay and dismemberment of the religious organisation of Nathapantha in Nepal. Therefore, A. D. 940 should be held as a landmark in the history of Nathapantha in Nepal ofter which a revival of Buddhism became possible under the patronage of the royal houses and Buddhist monks.

1. H. P. Sastri, 'Literary History of the Pala Period', *JBORS*, vol. v, part ii, 1919, p. 181.

2. S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, vol. i, p. 354; L. Petech, *Medieval History of Nepal*, Rome, 1958, p. 33.

3. Ibid. pp. 33-35.

CHAPTER V

REVIVAL OF NEPALESE BUDDHISM : A. D. 940-1040

During this period some important Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars and laymen visited Nepal in order to freshen their knowledge of Buddhism in the light of new changes in it. Eminent Nepalese Buddhist scholars were equally active in maintaining the past social and religious status and intellectual integrity of Buddhism of which Nepal had been a pious custodian. Sanskrit and Tibetan sources focus over the fact that the Nepalese Buddhists adopted a policy of socio-religious isolation from the main current of ideological tension set on by Nathapantha and its ambitious advocates and fanatic adherents. General socio-religious condition of Nepal during this period was passing through a phase of syncretism. In all probabilities the Nepalese Buddhists were busy in strengthening the internal vitality of their sects on the basis of the *Siddhacharyas'* activities in eastern India, Nepal and Tibet[1]. A happy sequence was that the centres of Buddhist learning in eastern India were maintaining the intellectual standard of the cult under the patronage of the Pala dynasty at its glory[2]. Besides, none of Sankaracharya and Gorakhanatha could come across the scholars of this area or could influence the *Siddhacharyas*. The Tibetan and Nepalese Buddhist scholars were safely visiting these centres of Buddhist learning.

Passing away of Gorakhanatha and his disciples from the religious scene of Nepal was a fortunate chance for the Nepalese Buddhists in dealing with rival sects. They came into contact with new developments in the field of Buddhist scholarship as

1. H. P. Sastri, 'Literary History of the Pala Period', *JBORS*, Vol. v, Part ii, 1919, p. 180; B. P. Sinha, 'Bauddha Doha Gana as Source Materials for Contemporary Socio-Economic and Religious Life' *PIHC*, 19th Session, 1956, pp. 157-160.

2. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, Vol. i, pp. 325-350, 383-386, 411-425.

practised in north Indian centres like Kasmir[1]. Changes also took place in monastic life of the Nepalese Buddhists under the guidance of the *Vajracharyas*[2]. A new cult originated, practised and developed mainly in Tibet was getting prominence in Nepal. It was *Kalachakrayana* concerning the Buddhist approaches to cosmology and cosmogony which made its ground in Nepalese Buddhist society.[3] Popularity of the *Charyapadas* and *Dohas*[4] during this period reveals the widespread influence of the *Siddhacharyas* in Nepal. The *Dohakosa*[5] of Sarahapada mirrors the contemporary society and makes a delightful reading. Above all a large number of Buddhist Tantric texts were composed during this period in Nepal under the patronage of the Newari traders. Popularity of Tantric texts and sects in Nepal with the advent of Gorakhanatha meant free access of down-trodden section of Nepalese society to religious congregation. This process had already started in the Buddhist *Viharas* with rise and development of the Buddhist society in the wake of the *Siddhacharyas* in Nepal. Even the slaves, debtors, the Japhus of Nepal were permitted to enter the *Sanghas* of Buddhism in Nepal. Rise of middle class traders, frequently visiting India and Tibet led to formation of new social values in Nepal which facilitated popularisation of Buddhism with fresh experiences and social relations. Major Brahamanical social barriers perished with the rise and development of Buddhist Tantras during this period. Colophons of several Tantric Buddhist manuscripts copied in the tenth-twelfth centuries[6] are testimonies to socio-religious changes of this period in Nepal.

1. L. A. Waddell, op. cit., p. 15.
2. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, *An Essay on the History of Newar Culture, JRASB*, Vol. xix, 1923, No. 10, New Series, p. 469.
3. L. A. Waddell, op. cit.
4. *The Statesman* (April, 25-26, 1963, Calcutta) informs us about field work carried on regarding *Charyapadas* in Nepal.
5. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.
6. H. P. Sastri (ed.), *Catalogue of Palm-Leaf and Selected Paper Manuscripts Belonging to the Darbar Library, Nepal*, Calcutta, vol. i (1905) and vol. ii (1915).

SECTION I

PART I

Progress of Nepalese Buddhism Under the Patronage of a King

Gunakamadeva (A. D. 942-1008)[1], the founder of the city of Kathmandu made valuable grants to Pasupatinatha, the national deity of Nepal[2]. He is said to have left a fabulous amount of rupees five hundred millions in the charge of the *Naga Vasuki* in the pit of the mount Indrasala[3]. Remarkable event of his reign was the revival of the Matsyendra *Ratha Yatra* at Kathmandu[4] introduced by Gorakhanatha[5]. But this revival was solely concerned with Buddhism and not with Nathapantha. The entire Buddhist population consisting largely of the Newaris participated in it starting on the first *Chaitra Badi* and closed on the *Vaisakha Sudi*[6]. The mass reception of the *Ratha Yatra* marks the growing importance of Buddhism at the cost of Nathapantha. Revival of Buddhist *Ratha Yatra* on the eve of the foundation of the city of Kathmandu under the wake of Buddhism was indeed a religious march to the new social and economic values, new philosophical and intellectual commitments and to the political enlightenment with the reappearance of the *Dvairajya* system. Professor Luciano Petech has referred to the reappearance of this system by the end of the tenth century[7]. But the socio-economic factors for its revival at this opportune moment have not been investigated. Surely this political change took place with the emergence of new values and social relations in the wake of Buddhist Tantric revival at the monastic level and mass-media appeals through the *Ratha Yatra* at general level. It indicates a significant change in society and polity of early medieval Nepal where the middle class presented its unprecedented social role.

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 33.
2. Ibid.; H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, vol. i, p. 196.
3. S. Levi, op. cit., p. 186.
4. Ibid., p. 354.
5. D. Wright, op. cit., p. 89.
6. Ibid.
7. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 32.

PART II

Conversion of the Four Nathapanthi Centres into the Buddhist ones

On account of the passing away of Gorakhanatha and the carelessness of his later followers, the four Nathapanthi centres were thrown into disuse. Nepalese Buddhism had been growing during this period. Therefore, the Nepalese Buddhists assisted by the favourable religious policy of the Nepalese king during this period took bold steps to convert these Natha shrines into Buddhist ones. They mobilised a great mass of Buddhist followers in Nepal in their favour and the images of Matsyendranatha were characterised as four different incarnations of the Buddha.

First, Natha deity of Patan, called *Rato Matsyendra* (red Matsyendranatha) was converted into the Buddhist pantheon and was named *Padmapani Lokesvara*. The second, *Seto Matsyendra* (white Matsyendranatha) of the city of Kathmandu was declared to be *Aryavalokitesvara*. The third, the *Nala Matsyendra*, which lies to the east of Kathmandu and straight north of Banepa, was called *Samantabhadra*. The last, the *Chobhara Matsyendra*, called the *Adinatha*, situated to the south-west of Kathmandu was named *Sristikanta Lokesvara*. Thus this proselytising adventure of the Buddhists of Nepal during this period may be regarded as their unique achievement. In this train of conversion a good number of the Nathapanthi saints and their followers also appear to have been converted to Buddhist faith.

The most important and vital fact that contributed greatly to the further progress of Nepalese Buddhism was the acceptance of monkhood by a ruler of Nepal, Rudradeva in A. D. 1028.[1] He is said to have retired to the old monastery of Kathmandu, called the *Ankulivihara* and there he spent the remainder of his life as a *Bandya*.[2]

1. S. Levi, op. cit., Vol. i, p. 208; S. K. Saraswati, 'Nepal in the first half of the Eleventh Century', *PIHC*, 17th Session, 1954, pp. 189-190.

2. S. Levi, op. cit.

SECTION II

Co-operation of the Nepalese Buddhist Monk-Scholars with the Foreign Buddhists Visting Nepal

The Tibetan accounts of the period give us the names of some eminent Nepalese Buddhist preachers, such as Pham-mthin-pa, Dharmamati,[1] Dus-'khor-pa, Tham-chun-pa[2], Bhadanta[3], Bodhibhadra, Mahakaruna, Kanakasri[4], Sunyasri[5], Dza-hum[6], Santibhadra[7] and Indraruchi. All these Nepalese Buddhist scholars were highly qualified and were well-known to the Buddhist monk-scholars of northern Buddhist countries. Their houses in Nepal were somewhat like schools of teaching of Buddhist doctrines. They had constant link with the Indian Buddhist monks and scholars with whom they exchanged their ideas and kept ready made views with the stamp of the Nepalese Buddhism and finally they imparted this teaching to desirous Tibetan Buddhists visiting Nepal. In this way they were busy with Buddhist teaching in Nepal. Some of them visited Tibet. At least one Buddhist monk-scholar Mahakaruna went to Tibet on an invitation of his disciple Rwa-Lotsaba-rDo-rje grags to disseminate the message of Sakyamuni, i.e., Buddha.[8]

PART I

Visits of the Tibetan Buddhists to Nepal : A. D. 978-1026

Some of the Tantric precepts in practice in the Tibetan regions such as dbUs, gTsan and mNa'-ris had become defiled because of wrong practices.[9] Meditation on the ultimate reality was abandoned. Many coarse practices like sexual practices, ritual sacrifice under the influence of the heathens, the Bon religionists, the Tibetan Tantrics

1. G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Part i, p. 380.
2. Ibid., p. 381.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, p. 382
5. R. Sankrityayana, *Asia ke Bhukhandon Men* (Hindi), p. 146.
6. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 384.
7. Ibid., p. 205.
8. Ibid., p. 355, 375, 378.
9. Ibid., p. 204.

of the pre-Buddhist traditions appeared again. The kings of mNa'-ris observed this sad plight of Tibetan Buddhism. However, because of violent influences of the advocates of Bon religion they could not voice their objection openly. So they sent their invitations to numerous learned Buddhist scholars and monks of India who were supposed to remove these ideological obstacles by placing living beings on the path of Tibetan Buddhism.

Two Buddhist monks of Tibet, namely 'Brog-mi and sTag-lo-gZon-nu brtson-'grun were picked up for the needful[1]. A large quantity of gold was presented to them for offering to Buddhist shrines and saints of eminence in their way to Nepal and India. They, while in Tibet, had studied a little *vivarta* script. Then they went to Nepal and spent one year. They learnt Sanskrit language under the supervision of the Nepalese scholar, namely, Santibhadra. Santibhadra was a disciple of Santipa who had earned much reputation in Indian Buddhist studies. While in Nepal, the Tibetan Buddhist monks heard several Buddhist texts of the *Vajrayana* school. They may have visited the Nepalese Buddhist centres such as the Svayambhu *Chaitya* and Bodhanatha which were active centres of Indian Buddhists and the Tibetan Lamas. Besides, they also came across new ideological developments in Buddhism of Nepal because of the visits of Sankaracharya and Gorakhanatha to that place. Before embarking upon their journey to India they became cautious of new religious undercurrents in the streams of Buddhist ideas flowing in Nepal which facilitated their task to a great extent. It was in Nepal that they could know in detail about Santipa, Ratnakarasanti of Vikramasila where he was in-charge of the eastern gate[2]. Santipa was his nickname in the text of Tibetan Buddhism called *Tangyur*[3]. He was also called the *Acharya, Mahapandita* and as such was a well-known Buddhist scholar of the Buddhist ideas and philosophy followed by the Buddhists of the

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 205.

2. Ibid., p. 206; B. Bhattacharyya, ed. *Sadhanamala*, Vol. ii Baroda, 1928 (Intr.) p. cxi.

3. B. Bhattacharyya, 'The Date of the Bauddha Gan O Doha', *JBORS*, Vol. xiv. Part iii. 1928, p. 356.

northern Buddhist countries[1]. Santipa composed on *Sadhana* devoted to the worship of Vajaratara as indicated in the *Sadhanamala*[2]. He was also the author of another *Sadhana* devoted to the worship of *Trailokyakshepa*, a form of Heruka[3]. He is said to have been the contemporary of Mahipala (A. D. 988-1038)[4]. In this way he was the contemporary of Dipankara Srijnana Atisa, Avadhutipa or Advayavajra, Naropa, Prajnakarmati, Vagisvarakirti[5], Ratnavajra and Jnanasri[6].

Brogmi and brtson-'grus were fortunate to stay and study under the spiritual guidance of Santipa[7]. They spent eight years during which period they heard the exposition of the *Vinaya* from Santipa[8]. Brogmi is said to have heard *Prajnaparamita* and several other *Vajrayana* texts from other Buddhist monks at Vikramasila[9]. After having acquired great learning under Santipa he proceeded towards the east (probably towards the Tantric centres situated in Bengal or Orissa), and there he chanced to learn some rare *Vajrayana* Tantras and Tantric precepts under the spiritual supervision of *Prajna* Indraruchi[10]. Brogmi was initiated into the mysteries of Hevajra from one of the pupils of the great *Siddha*, named Virupa who belonged to Magadha and was the contemporary of Devapala (A D. 810-850). Brogmi spent three years more in learning these Tantras. In this respect he expressed his complacent desire that he liked those Tantras more than what he could learn under the spiritual guidance of Santipa[11]. Still later, he resided for

1. Bhattacharyya, ed., op. cit., (Intr.); *JBORS* op. cit.
2. B. Bhattacharyya, ed., op. cit.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.; *JBORS*, xiv, op. cit.; H. C. Ray, *DHNI*, Vol. i, p. 280; R. Sankrityayana, *Puratattva Nibandhavali* (Hindi), p. 121; R.C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, vol. i. pp. 136-144.
5. B. Bhattacharyya, ed., op. cit.
6. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 206.
7. Ibid; H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, p. 135.
8. G. N. Roerich, op. cit.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., H. Hoffmann, op. cit.
11. G. N. Roerich, op. cit.

thirteen years in India and Nepal after which he went back to Tibet[1]. Brogmi returned to Tibet in A. D. 1043 and in A. D. 1073 founded the monastery of Sa-skya. He was also the founder of the spiritual teachings of the Saskya-pa school of Tibetan Buddhism. From the foregoing account it is evident that Brogmi reached Nepal in A. D. 1019. In this way he spent the periods from A. D. 1019 to A. D. 1027 with Santipa at Vikramasila, from A. D. 1027 to A. D. 1030 with *Prajna* Indraruchi and from A. D. 1030 to A. D. 1043 in Nepal for summing up what he had already learnt in India.

Finally he accomplished the translation of several *Vajrayana* texts including that of the famous *Hevajra-Tantraraja-Nama*[2].

Mar-pa Do-pa

Another Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholar, who visited Nepal was Mar-pa Do-pa[3]. Marpa Lho-brag-pa was Marpa of Lho-brag (A. D. 1012-1097). About his early career it has been mentioned that he was born in a good Tibetan family. Before he proceeded to Nepal he learnt Sanskrit language from a local Tibetan scholar knowing Sanskrit well[4]. When he reached Nepal he chanced to meet Mar-pa Lho-brag-pa who, was then returning to Tibet from India[5]. In exuberance of his delight in meeting Mar-pa of Lho-brag, Mar-pa Do-pa presented one golden zo to him who refused it but advised Mar-pa Do-pa to learn Buddhist doctrine from the four disciples of Naropa (A.D. 978-1026)[6]. This Mar-pa of Lho-brag was also the *Guru* of the great Tibetan Buddhist saint Milarepa[7].

Mar-pa Do-pa proceeded to India and in Tirhut he got an opportunity to meet Naropa who was being awaited by a great

1. Ibid; H. Hoffmann. op. cit.
2. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 207.
3. Ibid., p. 383.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 148.
6. G. N. Roerich, op. cit.; H. C. Ray, op. cit., p. 280; B. Bhattacharyya, ed., op. cit.; *JBORS*, op. cit. Vol. xiv; R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 121; H.V. Guenther, *The Life and Teachings of Naropa*, London, 1963, p. xii.
7. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Milarepa*, London, 1928, pp. 87-90.

crowd of his admirers there[1]. Mar-pa Do-pa presented one golden zo to Naropa as a mark of his pleasure at having his *darsan* (sacred interview). But Naropa took it and threw it on the ground and gazed at him with wide open eyes[2]. However, the Tibetan Bhikshu considered that gesture as a blessing and went to Magadha where he met the disciples of Naropa, named, Kanakasri, Prajnarakshita, Bodhibhadra and Pramudavajra[3]. According to his scheduled programme Mar-pa Do-pa obtained initiation into *Chakra Samvara* Tantra from them according to Naropa's system[4]. At this stage it is mentioned that after the accomplishment of his mission in India he went back to Nepal.

However, in Nepal Mar-pa Do-pa heard the exposition of Naropa's system from the Nepalese Buddhist scholars, such as Pham-mthin-pa, his younger brother Vagisvara and Kanakasri[5]. Most probably these Nepalese Buddhist monk-scholars were the Nepalese *Vajracharyas* who were known for their characteristic exposition of the Naropa's system from the Nepalese Buddhist point of view. It was because of this that Mar-pa Do-pa felt the need of having an interpretation of Naropa's system in Nepal as well. Afterwards he got instructions from Vajrapani, a disciple of Maitripa, who was then living in Nepal[6]. Mar-pa Do-pa also studied under a Brahmana scholar of Nepal, named Krishnapada, who was the disciple of a Nepalese scholar Dza-hum[7]. It means that Mar-pa Do-pa was interested not only in Buddhist learning but in other disciplines as well. He was an intellectual of a very high order who, concentrated not merely on the particular cult of his faith but on different faiths also. In Nepal, however, he got opportunity to translate many works on *Chakra Samvara* Tantra with the help of Sumatikirti[8]. Ultimately he returned to Tibet and formed a

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 383.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 384.
4. Ibid., pp. 383-484.
5. Ibid., p. 384.
6. Ibid., op. cit., p. 384.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

school of Buddhist philosophy after his own name and method of learning[1].

Rwa

From the available source Rwa lotsa-ba rDo-rje grags was the next Tibetan Buddhist who visited Nepal after Mar-pa Do-pa[2]. Rwa appears to be the great interpreter working in Tibet. In Nepal he spent most of his time with the famous Nepalese Buhddist scholar, Mahakaruna who, was the expert Buddhist philosopher in the system of Naropa[3]. Rwa studied under his spiritual guidance.

Among his contemporary Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars Rwa was an uncommon personality and he could contribute many peerless works to translation ever done by his predecessors in Tibet[4]. From this massive translation work Rwa earned a lot. He offered his income to several existing centres of Buddhist learning of his time. He sent one hundred golden *srans* to Vikramasila in India for the recitation of the famons text of Buddhism *Prajna-paramita*[5]. He invited his Nepalese *Guru* Mahakaruna to Tibet as token of his respect for him. On his return Rwa sent one thousand golden *srans*[6] and till his death Rwa continued to send offerings to Mahakaruna which amounted to thirty seven times[7].

So far as the date of Rwa is concerned no direct reference is available to us. But by co-relating his contact with the Nepalese Buddhist monk-scholar, named Mahakaruna, who was the contemporary of Naropa (A. D. 978-1026), it can easily be surmised that he belonged to the same period.

Gos

Gos was a Tibetan lo-tsa ba (interpreter), who visited Nepal on his way to India[8]. Although his trip to Nepal was not so extensive

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 384.
2. Ibid., p. 375
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 376.
5. Ibid., p. 377.
6. Ibid., p. 378.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. p. 360.

as those of his predecessors his reference to the Nepalese Buddhist scholar Mahakaruna is important to fix up his time[1]. This shows that he was flourishing during the period between A.D. 978 and A.D. 1026. But most important is the fact that he read from seventy-two Buddhist teachers in Nepal of which two were the *Dakinis*. As Gos was a lover of *Guhyasamaja* teaching of Buddhism, he has given a list of the teachers in this field comprising Indrabhuti of Uddiyana, Visvakalpa, *mahabrahmana* Saraha, Nagarjuna, Chandrakirti, Sishyavajra, Gomisra, Abhijna etc.[2]

In course of presenting his memoirs about seventy-two teachers Gos mentions that the account of the lineage of the *Guhyasamaja* was authentic[3]. The chief masters from whom he heard the *Samaja* were : Abhijna of Bhangala (Bhagalpur in Bihar), the scholar bTsun-mo-can (Yosha) of Zahor (Sabour near Bhagalpur in Bihar), the prince of Konkana sPringyi sugs can (Meghavegin), Krisnasamayavajra of Vajrasana (Bodhagaya), the venerable Master Atisa, Chandrarahula, a scholar of Kasmir, Santibhadra of Rajagriha, the great *Upasaka*, Nepalese Mahakaruna and the Kasmirian Jnanakara, the disciple of Naropa. Indeed, this list is remarkable for further researches into Indian and Nepalese Buddhists actively engaged in the cause of Buddhist expansion.

Se-btsun

Lastly comes the name of Jo-bo Se-btsun who was the contemporary of Brom, a famous Tibetan Buddhist born in A. D. 1005 in Tibet[4]. He also visited Nepal. A remarkable event in his career was his defeating a heretical *Acharya* belonging to non-Buddhist cult in a debate in Nepal[5].

It has been pointed out that he was well-versed in the art of prognostication. It was by virtue of this knowledge that he could win victory in that debate. His journey to Nepal is highly

1. G. N. Roerich., p. 361.
2. Ibid., pp. 359-360.
3. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., pp. 36-361
4. Ibid., p. 251.
5. G.N. Roerich, op. cit., pp. 251.

appreciable from the point of view of the pieces of information[1] provided by him about several Buddhist monk-scholars and Bhikshus whose names he has given in his account. Unfortunately lack of further resources has prevented us from identifying these scholars. However, he appears to be proud of his learning so far as his vociferous statement in respect of his knowledge is concerned. In this connection he has stated that there was no greater scholar than he in India. He returned to his land of snow.

Importance of These Travel Accounts

All these travel accounts of the Tibetan Buddhists visiting Nepal show that from Lhasa to the Indian Universities the entire surroundings were studded with wandering Buddhist monks and laymen followers engaged in trade and commerce. Besides, we are enabled to say that these Buddhist Bhikshus were not an idle and obsolete institution. They had to labour hard for the prosecution of their study under their Buddhist teachers. One such Buddhist monk of Tibet, named 'Brom, is found to have been engaged in grinding barley, looking after horses and other cattle of a Buddhist teacher for the sake of higher Buddhist learning[2]. These accounts can very well be construed to interpret the social and economic condition of the Buddhist monks of this period.

From these accounts of the Tibetan Buddhists we are now in a position to identify some active Buddhist scholars of Nepal. During this period famous Nepalese Buddhist scholars were Pham-mthin-pa, Dharmamati[3], Dus-'Khor-pa, Than-chun-ba[4], Bhadanta[5] Bodhibhadra[6], Sunyasri[7], Vagisvara, Vajrapani, Maitri-pa, Krishna-pada, Dza-hum[8], Santibhadra[9], and Indraruchi. All these Nepalese Buddhist scholars were highly qualified and quite well-known to the

1. Ibid., pp. 252-258, 380, 381.
2. Ibid., p. 252.
3. Ibid., p. 380.
4. Ibid., p. 381.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. R. Sankrityayana, *Asia Ke Bhukhandon Men* (Hindi), p. 146.
8. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 384.
9. Ibid., p. 205.

northern Buddhist countries. Their houses and residential places in Nepal were just like teaching institutions which the Buddhist monks of Tibet always visited. All were the *Vajracharyas* of Nepal. They had constant link with Indian Buddhist scholars whom they frequently consulted. Thus they always maintained up-to-date and ready made views with the stamp of Nepalese Buddhism which they finally imparted to the interested Tibetans. In this way they were busily engaged in teaching profession in their country.

It is just possible that some of these Nepalese Buddhist scholars might have visited Tibet also. At least we know of Mahakaruna who, on being invited by his Tibetan disciple Rwa-lotsa-ba rDo-rje-grags went to Tibet.[1] He might have stayed there to preach the tenets of Buddhism. When he returned to Nepal Rwa sent one thousand golden *srans*[2] to him and Rwa continued to send such presents to Mahakaruna till his death. All these gifts which Rwa sent thirty-seven times[3] to this Nepalese monk-scholar may go up to the value of thirty thousand rupees at least. We may guess the importance of Mahakaruna from this short account. It can be said that such incidents might have taken place in case of other Nepalese monk-scholars as well.

PART II

Visit of an Eminent Chinese Buddhist Bhikshu to Nepal

Soon after the decay of the 'Tang dynasty (A-D. 946-976) a mission of the Chinese Buddhist priests visited Nepal under the leadership of Ki-ye[4]. Ki-ye, with three hundred monks reached Gandhara, Gilgit valley regions from his home in Kansu in north-west which he had left in A.D. 960[5]. He visited Indian Buddhist centres including Kusinagara, Vaisali and Pataliputra[6]. In his return journey he went to Nepal from where he took his original routes leading to

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 378
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. S. Levi, op. cit., p. 206.
5. R.S. Pandit, ed., *Rajatarangini*, Allahabad, 1935, p. 170 (Note pp. 152 155).
6. S. Levi, op. cit.

China. It means he went to pay his respect to the birthplace of the Buddha at Lumbini. There he came into contacts with several sects of Buddhism of the time.

SECTION III

Advayavajra, A Nepal-Born Buddhist : A. D. 978-1030

His Early Life

The life and career of Advayavajra have been presented by the late Rahula Sankrityayana[1]. He was born in a village, named Jhotakarani near the city of Kapilavastu (It is a place identified with Piprahwa in Basti district in Uttar Pradesh. It is 25 kms. from Naugarh railway station on the Gorakhpur-Gonda loop line of North-Eastern Railway. It is also just over 25 kms. from Tilaurakot in Nepal which many scholars until now belived was kapilavastu. It is a place where the Buddha spent the first 29 years of his life. It is where he saw as prince Siddhartha, the miseries of human existence which provoked him to leave his family and kingdom in quest of salvation)[2]. His family name was Damodara. His parents were poor Brahmanas. His father's name was Nanuka and mother's name was Savitri (Saviti).

His Education

While eleven years old, Damodara became the disciple of an *Ekadandi*, a Saivite saint with whom he studied *Samaveda* and was named Amritabodha (Martabodha). After having completed his Vedic studies he went to a village, named Likati celebrated for its scholars. There he stayed for seven years. During this period he acquired a knowledge of the grammar of Panini in consultation with many Sanskritist scholars of the village. Upto the eighteen years' old age of his life Amritabodha got mastery over many Brahmanical scriptures. But he was not satisfied with mere one aspect of the Indological study of his time, because he had already come into contacts with many Buddhist monk-scholars around the old city of Kapilavastu. He became restless to see the scholars residing at Buddhist centres of the eastern India such as Nalanda, Udyantapura (Odantapuri) and Vikramasila.

1. B. Bhattacharyya, ed., *The Sadhanamala*, vol. ii, Baroda, 1928 (Intr.), p. xci; R. Sankrityayana, *Dohakosa of Sarahapada*, op. cit., Appendix 6.

2. *The Times of India*, 24 January 1976.

Advayavajra's Visit to India

Advayavajra himself says that he hated diffuseness and was lover of brevity, and in making his works brief he has made them enigmatical, and brevity has often degenerated into obscurity[1]. It is evident from his mental inclinations to miscellaneous subjects and experts of his time. In this connection he went first to Vikramasila where Buddhists belonging to the Southeast Asian regions and Tibet were also residing. There he came into contact with Buddhist scholars, Naropada or Naropa, *Siddha* Ratnakara, Jnanasrimitra, etc.

At that time *Acharya* Dharmapala of Suvarnadvipa (modern Sumatra) was famous for his scholarship throughout the Buddhist world, under whom one of the eighty-four *Siddhas*, Ratnakarasanti had earned the title of Kalikalasarvajna, omniscient of the *Kali* age. Jnanasrimitra, the great exponent of the dialectics had also sat at the feet of *Acharya* Dharmapala. Thus Advayavajra had the privileges of learning many important philosophical systems of Buddhism at Vikramasila such as *Vijnanavada*, known as *Nirankaravyavastha*, logical ideas of Dinnaga and Dharmakirti, *Madhyamika* philosophy and doctrinal interpretations of the *Prajnaparamita*. He learnt the unique piece of logic under the supervision of Jnanasrimitra known as *Kshanabhangadhyaya* worked out by this learned logician.

Advayavajra was not yet made an *Upasampanna* Bhikshu according to the existing rules of the Buddhist *Samgha* upto twenty-seven years of his age. At Vikramasila he became a Buddhist Bhikshu or monk according to the *Sammitiyanikaya* traditions and was named Maitrigupta. Advayavajra studied the *Sutrapitaka*, the *Abhidharmapitaka* and the *Vinayapitaka* of this sect for one year. It was at Vikramasila that he desired to be a *Siddha*. He recited one crore *Japas* prescribed under the *Panchakrama Tarapaddhati*. He understood the the importance of the *Dohas* and *Charya* songs. In this connection he heard about old Buddhist *Siddha* monk-scholar, named *Bhattaraka* Sabarapada whose favourite Buddhist deity was *Khasarpana* or *Avalokitesvara*. He paid his visit to this deity. There he came to know the significance of some south Indian Buddhist

1. H. P. Sastri, ed., *Advayavajrasamgraha*, Baroda, 1927, Intr., p. vi.

Tantric centres situated around the mountains of Manabhanga and Chittavisrama where the *Siddha* Sabaresvara used to reside. He also learnt that during his trips to these places he would be accompanied by a Buddhist saint, named Sagaradatta of the Radha reigion of Bengal.

Advayavajra, therefore, started for his visit to south Indian Buddhist centres. He came to know about Dharanikota or Dhanyakota or Dhanyakataka of Guntur district in Andhra Pradesh. He was thirty years old when visited the mountains of Manabhanga and Chittavisrama where he recited *Tara Sadhana*. He practised fasting, offered ten *mandalas* everyday to the shrine. Ultimately he determined to commit suicide by cutting his throat, because he could not get the vision of the *Bhattaraka Siddha* Sabarapada. Just at this critical moment he got the vision and was ordained as the *Sadhaka* in Tantricism. It was at this stage that Maitrigupta was named Advayavajra. There he heard sermons on *Panchakrama* and *Chaturmudra* for twelve days. He also witnessed the two female Buddhist Tantrics, named Padmavali and Jnanavali, who played on musical instrument, *Vina*. Throughout these Tantric practices Advayavajra was accompanied by his fellow Buddhist monk Sagaradatta of Radha region (Bengal). At one time Advayavajra was asked to demonstrate a Tantric feat, called the *Kavyavyuha* which he failed to perform, but Sagaradatta accomplished it well. On questioning the reasons for inability in performing this Tantric feat, Advayavajra came to know his inherent confusion and misunderstanding regarding perfection in Tantras. Therefore, he was advised to meditate over the female Buddhist deity, *Vajrayogini*. Besides, he came to know about one *Siddha* disciple of Sabarapada, named Sabaradhiraja living at Girittala for the welfare of the Buddhist monks and followers. It is mentioned that Sabara, in spite of being an hunter had neither bow, nor a deer, nor a hog-hare, nor the *Sampurna* Chadranana, his so-called beautiful consort with him. This allegorical mention of Sabaradhiraja has been made to highlight his dispassionate approaches to the problems of the Buddhist Tantric practices. He was living at Girittala in his *Siddhamudra*. Advayavajra was indirectly advised to train himself under this giant

Buddhist Tantric. No detailed biography of Advayavjra is known belyond this point.

However, on the basis of the Tibetan sources, the life of Atisa composed by mkham-po at sNar-than monastery in Tibet about A. D. 1250[1]; *gSun-'bum* of Bu-ston (A. D. 1290-1364) composed in A. D. 1322[2]; *Chos-'byum* or *Deb-snon* of 'Gos lo-tsa-ba (A. D. 1392-1481) composed during A.D. 1476 and A. D. 1478[3] and the *dPag-bsam-ljon-bzan* of Sumpa-mkhan-po (A. D. 1702-1775) composed in A. D. 1748[4], Advayavajra appears to be the *Guru* of Dipankara. Bodhibhadra, the first appointed instructor of Dipankara took him to Advayavajra, who lived at Rajagriha and prevailed upon him to accept Dipankara as his disciple[5]. Advayavajra agreed and the twelve year old Dipankara stayed with him until he was eighteen. From this it is certain that Girittala, where Sabaradhiraja was living and where Advayavajra was advised to visit for verifying and improving his Buddhist learning, was no other than the Griddhra-kuta mountain of Rajagriha. Advayavajra, therefore, lived upto the first decade of the eleventh century of the Christian era.

Advayavajra was also known as Maitripa, Maitripa Advayavajra or Avadhutipa because of his ordination as *Siddha*. In this capacity he was enabled to serve the cause of Nepalese Buddhism in a better way because of his close contact with the wandering Buddhist mendicants, the *Siddhacharyas*. Advayavajra wrote some important Buddhist works which ultimately immortalised him. Among his works following are known so far :

1. *Abodha Bodhaka* (अबोध बोधक)
2. *Gurumaitrigitikia* (गुरुमैत्रीगीतिका)
3. *Chaturmudropadesa* (चतुर्मुद्रोपदेश)
4. *Chittamatradrishti* (चित्तमात्रदृष्टि)
5. *Dohatattvanidhitattvopadesa* (दोहातत्त्वनिधितत्त्वोपदेश)
6. *Chaturvajragitika* (चतुर्वज्रगीतिका)

Above all his *Advayavajrasamgraha* (अद्वयवज्रसंग्रह), commands remarkable attraction of the Buddhist scholars. It is a collection of twenty-one short works dealing with various aspects of Buddhism of the life and time of Advayavajra.

1. S. C. Das, "Life of Atisa", *JBTS*, 1893, calcutta.
2. E. E. Obermiller, *History of Buddhism by Bu-ston*, Heidelberg, 1931-1932.
3. G. N. Roerich (Tr. and ed.), *The Blue Annals*, vols. i and ii, 1949 and 1953, Calcutta.
4. S. C. Das (ed.), 1908, Calcutta; A. H. Francke, *A History of Western Tibet*, London, 1907; *Antiguities of Indian Ttbet*, vol. i, 1914; vol. ii, 1926, Delhi.
5. P. V. Bapat (ed.)., *2500 years of Buddhism*, Delhi, 1953, p. 201.

CHAPTER VI

THE VISIT OF DIPANKARA TO NEPAL

SECTION I

Condition of Nepalese Buddhism on the Eve of the Visit of Dipankara

Although the roles of the Nathapanthi saints after Gorakhanatha and some mixed Tantric elements from India did not affect the basic tenets of Nepalese Buddhism, they created much confusion in the Buddhist society of the period. A good number of Buddhists had changed their faith because of the proselytising zeal of Sankaracharya and his later disciples. Some Buddhists were in the state of uncertainty after the changes launched by Gorakhanatha, an enigmatic personality for his collaborationist religious attitude. The *Vajracharyas*, who played great roles in adjusting Buddhist ideas with the changes brought in the wake of Nathapanthis, failed to maintain the ideological stability of Buddhism in Nepal. They were swept away in their personal whims and prejudices pertaining to several new features of the Tantric and sexo-yogic practices. They took much interest in cheap magic tricks for exploiting the popular feelings of Nepalese Buddhists. They presented the real Buddhist ideas into background and propagated a vague and colourful Buddhist doctrine to influence the Nepalese people. Under these circumstances the suitable image of Buddhism expected after the exit of Nathapanthis and revival of Buddhism in Nepal by the *Vajracharyas* was largely blurred and confused. It was a high time for giving a new status to it. It appears that because of the absence of an influential personality in Buddhist community of Nepal after Gorakhanatha was the probable reason which led to ideological confusion in the field of Nepalese Buddhism. Besides, in the age of the *Siddhas* and *Samantas* (landlords and bourgeois community) role of a personality was the real necessity for advocating the causes of an idea and organisation. A mere survival of an idea or organisation may be possible without these forces for a time but its progress, its social and legal formation, its religious and spiritual regeneration cannot be visualised in that age. It was just a matter of good chance

that Dipankara Srijnana Atisa visited Nepal on this occasion in course of his journey to Tibet and spent one year in doing something remarkable.

SECTION II

Early Life of Dipankara and His Learning

Dipankara Srijnana Atisa was born in A. D. 982 [1] in a royal family of Sabour (Zahor or, Sahor=Sabhar=Sabaur) which is a suburb of modern Bhagalpur (ancient 'Bhangala').[2] His father was a king, named Kalyanasri and his mother's name was Sriprabhavati[3] (Sriprabha)[4]. He was second among his three brothers (Padmagarbha, Chandragarbha and Srigarbha)[5].

Dipankara, whose family name was Chandragarbha, started reading at the age of three in A. D. 985 and upto A. D. 993 he learnt mathematics and grammar. But his meeting with Mahapandita Bhikshu Jetari acted as a great transformer for him.[6] It was the time of the eighty-four *Siddhacharyas* and the *Siddhacharyas* like Tilopa and Naropa were present.[7] Although Jetari did not belong to the intellectual constellation of the eighty-four *Siddhacharyas*, his name and fame were known to the contemporary Buddhist world[8]. It was the influence of Jetari that Dipankara

1. R. Sankrityayana, *Atita Se Vartamana* (Hindi), Varanasi, 1956, p. 22; A. Chottopadhyaya, *Atisa And Tibet*, p. 66.

2. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part i, p. 241; R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 21, and *Puratattvanibaddhavali* (Hindi), pp. 221-223;H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, p. 119 (places Zahor in Bengal); Yogendra Mishra, Bihar and Greater India : A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Bihar, *Historical Miscellany*, p. 5; P. V. Bapat, ed., *2500 Years of Buddhism*, 2nd ed., New Delhi, 1964, p. 227; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 57-64.

3. R. Sankrityayana, *Atita Se Vartamana*, p. 21.

4. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 241; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 65.

5. G. N. Roerich, op. cit.; R. Sankrityayana, op.cit., p. 23; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit.

6. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.

7. Ibid.; H.V. Guenther, *The Ltfe and Teachings of Naropa*, p. xi, (gives the dates of Tilopa as A. D. 988-1069 and of Naropa as A. D. 1016-1100). A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 420 (gives the year of the death of Naropa as A. D. 1040).

8. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 23.

made up his mind to visit Nalanda where he could get *Sramanera* initiation from *Acharya* Bodhibhadra in A. D. 994 due to his inner spiritual urge[1]. The Bodhibhadra had removed the misunderstandings of several Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars visiting Nalanda and as such in the case of Dipankara, he kindled in him the sense of inquisitiveness about the Buddhist ideas of northern Buddhist countries. After having acqired his learning from Bodhibhadra, Dipankara went to Avadhutipada accompanied by his *Guru* Bodhibhadra. By the recommendation of his *Guru* Bodhibhadra he remained there upto A. D. 1000[2]. During this period he practised hard Tantric feats of *Ganachakra* in the association of *Dakinis* of Uddiyana and heard many mystic *Vajra* songs[3]. Then he went to Vikramasila and there he accepted Naropa as his *Guru*, who was in-charge of the northern gate of that Buddhist University[4]. There he stayed up to A. D. 1011 and learnt Buddhist Tantras in a systematic way under the spiritual guidance of Naropa[5]. Finally, Dipankara proceeded to Vajrasana and stayed at Mativihara with Silarakshita, who initiated him as a Buddhist Bhikshu[6]. He stayed there upto A. D. 1013 by which time he became well-versed in the *Sastras*, *Tripitaka* and several Buddhist Tantras[7]. It appears that upto the age of thirty-one Dipankara became the master of several subjects concerned with Buddhology of his time.

Dipankara made an adventurous study trip to Suvarnadvipa where he stayed upto A. D. 1026[8]. He came back to India and was made head of fifty-one *panditas* and security officer over one hundred and eight *viharas* at the Buddhist *Mahavihara* of Vikramasila[9]. In this place he remained upto A. D. 1040 in which year he

1. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 24.
2. Ibid., pp. 24-25.
3. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 242.
4. Ibid., R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 25.
5. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 68. She has mentioned that Naropa's teachings had no bearing on the mature ideas of Dipankara.
6. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., pp. 242-243.
7. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 25; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 67-70.
8. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., P. 27.
9. Ibid.; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 134. She has, however, mentioned that Dipankara was not the administrative head of the monastery.

was called to serve the cause of reformation and cultural expansion of Buddhism in Tibet[1].

How Tibetans Came to Know of Dipankara ?

The Buddhist Bhikshus of Tibet had deviated from the path of Buddhism. Keeping the scriptures of Buddhism aside[2] they started following the rules of Bhikshus during the rainy season only and the rest of the year was spent in sexo-yogic practices[3]. Head monks of the Buddhist *viharas* were fond of putting on gorgeous dresses and started calling themselves *Sthaviras* and *Arhats*[4]. It was thought that in order to remove these drawbacks first of all the study of the Buddhist scriptures was necessary. So twenty-one Tibetan youngmen under the leadership of Rin-chen bzang po (A. D. 958-1055)[5] were sent to Kashmir. But nineteen persons perished in the sweltering heat and the leader returned with his only surviving companion Legs-pai shesh-reb[6]. This accident impelled the royal monk Yeshes-od (Jnanaprabha) to discern that it would be better to invite an Indian Buddhist scholar than to send the Tibetan scholars to India. He came to know about the name of Dipankara Srijnana of Vikramasila *Mahavihara*[7].

Party Organised to Bring Dipankara to Tibet

Byan-chub-od organised a party consisting of several experienced persons under the leadership of Nag-tsho called Silavijaya[8], although a more capable man than he in that party was Tshul-khrim rgyal-ba, who was a master of Sanskrit and had experience of a successful journey to India.[9] However, five persons were escorted in the journey. Nag-tsho took large quantities of gold

1. B. Bhattacharyya, ed., *Nishpannayogavali*, Baroda, 1949, p. 10.
2. R. Sankrityayana, *Tibet Men Bauddha Dharma* (Hindi), Allahabad, 1948, p. 32.
3. Ibid.; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 291-292.
4. Ibid.
5. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 32; *Atita Se Vartamana*, pp. 29-30; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 115-116.
6. Ibid.
7. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.
8. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 30.
9. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 120.

for journey expenses and also a bar of gold weighing sixteen ounces for presenting it to Dipankara at Vikramasila[1].

The party of Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars proceeded through Nepal. The absence of any description about Nepal in course of the journey from Tibet to India shows that the party did not stay on the way and directly came to India. The Tibetan party faced much trouble in this trip. On one occasion while they were staying somewhere on the Indo-Nepalese border in a bamboo-made cottage some Indian robbers conspired and pursued them in order to take away the gold stock. But this conspiracy was detected by one of the Tibetan party-men, who could follow the language of the robbers. At any rate, they arranged to leave that place unnoticed by the robbers at night. In this connection the Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars had to walk for the whole night. Early in the morning they found themselves on the Indian soil where they met a Nepalese prince, who was also proceeding with a big party to Vikramasila. However, we have not been informed of this Nepalese party's mission by any source. It can, therefore, be only surmised that the Nepalese prince was going to pay his homage to the Buddhist centre there. The Tibetan party merely followed them up to the northern bank of the Ganges. The Nepalese party crossed the river leaving the Tibetans behind. During night time the Tibetans were afraid of the repetition of their previous experience and so they did not sleep at night. They concealed their gold stock in the sands and prayed for its safety whole night. Next day the Tibetan party reached Vikramasila.

The Tibetans met the famous Buddhist scholar of Tibet, named Gya-tson-Senge at Vikramasila, who was a favourite disciple of Atisa Dipankara[2]. They came to know of the responsibilities and rare scholarship of Atisa Dipankara. In the beginning the Tibetan party was quite disheartened to learn that it was impossible for Atisa to go to Tibet. However, Atisa came to know about the martyrdom of Tibetans for the sake of their religious affinities with Buddhism, especially for the purpose of bringing Dipankara to their

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., 245; H. Hoffmann, op. cit.; S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks And Monasteries of India*, London, 1962, Appendix ii.

2. R. Sankrityayana, *Atita Se Vartamana*, p. 32; G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 246.

country. Naturally, he was impressed and ultimately after a tactful approach and importune pressure from the side of the Tibetan party Dipankara Srijnana agreed to visit Tibet.

In spite of many difficulties before him Dipankara prepared himself for the mission of reforming degenerate forms of the Tibetan Buddhist religion. In this connection the gold stock presented by the Tibetan party to him was distributed among different religious centres under his orders. One fourth of that was given to the scholars of Vikramasila[1] to prosecute their research work out of the discretionary grant given by Dipankara Srijnana. The second fourth was donated to Vajrasana (Bodhagaya) for worship purposes[2]. The third fourth was presented to *Sanghasthavira* Ratnakara Santipada, who had taken the charge from Dipankara for the maintenance of Mahaviharas. The remaining amount was handed over to the contemporary king[3]. Thus having completed his last formalities in respect of his responsibilities at Vikramasila, he left for Tibet.

It is remarkable point that at the time of leaving Vikramasila Dipankara declared his express desire before the Tibetan party of the Buddhist monk-scholars to visit Svayambhu of Nepal besides a pilgrimage to eight holy places in India.[4] This reveals the high regard of Dipankara for the Svayambhu of Nepal. In this connection it has been mentioned that the belongings of Dipankara were packed in sixty loads and were carried on by thirty horses.[5] This indicates that Dipankara must have carried a large number of Buddhist scriptures and manuscripts to Tibet for his personal use. This part of information has been supported by the fact that he completed many works in Tibet also, which are now available only in the Tibetan translation.

Dipankara's Journey To Nepal

It is mentioned that Atisa's party consisting of twenty-eight attendants and huge belongings reached a monastery in the town of

1. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., p. 33; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 121; G. N. Roerich; op. cit., p. 247.
2. Ibid.
3. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.
4. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 247; S. Dutt, op. cit., p. 369.
5. S. Dutta, op. cit., Appendix ii, 'Brom-ton's Account of Life of Atisa', pp. 367-371.

Cindilla Krama[1]. This place has not yet been identified by any authority. But because Atisa reached this place which was "the frontier town[2] on the Indo-Nepalese border, we feel tempted to identify Cindilla Krama with Simraon or Simraun[3], also known as Simraongarh these days. In later times this place was called Simaramapura or Simaramapattana also[4]. Earlier we have also stated that the Tibetan Buddhist Bhikshus and laymen always passed through Tirhut and as such this monastery must have been at Simraon where several Tibetan Buddhists used to stay on their up and down journeys. Naturally the place Cindilla Krama was no other than the very place called Simraon. Moreover, it is stated that Atisa "arrived at a place sacred to the *Tirthikas*"[5]. Indeed Simaraon was the famous and the busiest place where varieties of persons preferred to stay in course of their long and tiresome journeys either from India or from Tibet and Nepal. Atisa also followed this route and reached Simraon and stayed in a Buddhist monastery. It was there that fifteen *Acharyas* of the *Tirthikas*, living there, came to receive Atisa[6].

Atisa's Meeting With the Heretics and his Transforming Effect on the Robbers

It has been pointed out[7] that Dipankara got an opportunity to stay there. During his stay he might have convoked a religious meeting (*Satsanga*) in order to have an exchange of ideas with different persons belonging to several creeds. We know that he was well-versed in almost all the philosophical ideas of his day. So he was in a position to satisfy the questioners. He solved the riddles presented before him by the *Tirthikas*[8]. In a fit of exuberance and ecstasy,

1. S. Levi, *Le Nepal*, vol. i, op. cit., p. 205; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 316.
2. A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 316. She has quoted it as "the frontier town".
3. D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains In Bihar*, Patna, 1963, pp. 541-543.
4. G. Roerich ed., *Biography of Dharmasvamin*, Patna, 1959, pp. 58, 59, 100-101. Dharmasvamin calls it Pata which is an abbreviation of Pattana.
5. S. C. Das, *Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow*, Calcutta, 1893, p. 68 p. 68.
6. Ibid.; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 315-316.
7. S. C. Das, op. cit.
8. Ibid., p. 68.

they presented umbrellas to him as a mark of respect for his learning[1]. Those *Tirthikas* consisted of all kinds of Brahmanical followers like Saivas, Vaishnavas, Kapilas, etc.

A section of the *Tirthikas*, however, does not appear to have been pleased with Atisa, because he was going to propagate Buddhism in Nepal and Tibet. So these *Tirthikas* organised a group of eighteen robbers, who in turn, were entrusted to kill him in order to foil his great mission of Buddhist expansion in the northern Buddhist countries[2]. The robbers went to fuifil their evil scheme, but when they were face to face with Dipankara, they turned into statues. At this Dipankara pitied them and by reciting Tantras he restored them to senses[3]. As a matter of fact this story reveals something differerent from what is available as surface meaning. It appears the robbers pursued Atisa. But it was not the influence of Tantras or magic wands that brought the robbers to senses. It was the unique hypnotic power of high spiritual attainment that removed the evil feeling from the minds of those robbers and transformed their hearts so that they realised the greatness of the Buddhist monk-scholar and his noble aim of the journey.

Atisa proceeded on his journey unhindered. He faced another trouble at the hands of a Nepalese ruler, who had a bad eye over the beautiful sandal-wood table that was meant for Tibet[4]. Atisa was not willing to part with it. So the king, in order to fulfil his desire, sent some robbers to intercept Atisa on his way[5]. But here also those robbers were deeply impressed by the great saint and his hypnotic power. The robbers could do nothing and returned with changed hearts. This incident most probably took place around the valley of Kathmandu, beeause it has been mentioned that just after that incident the party reached the Svayambhu Chaitya[6]. However, that king has not been identified. Most probably that heretic ruler was the chief of some unimportant clan.

1. S. C. Das, op. cit.,
2. Ibid., p. 69.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p. 69.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid,

Atisa's Stay at Svayambhu Chaitya and His Work for Nepalese Buddhism

By the time Atisa reached the famous Svayambhu Chaitya several Buddhist Bhikshus and laymen came out to pay a grand ovation to him[1]. It has been pointed out that the king of Svayambhu made a grand preparation for the reception of Atisa and collected a large quantity of provisions and other necessities for the use of the men in his party for the Tibetan journey[2]. Here it should be borne in mind that Svayambhunatha Chaitya was under charge of the king of Bhutan as the Bodhanatha Chaitya was under charge of the Tibetan king[3].

The Bhutanese king extended his royal invitation to Dipankara who was staying in Krishong-bro. This place appears to be nearer the Svayambhu Chaitya and seems to have been the residential part of the main shrine. This place, therefore, was on the hill-top, a long way off from the royal Bhutanese palace. Hence the king made arrangements for Dipankara's stay in the principal part of the palace where the king honoured him as the chief of the high priests of Magadha[4]. For the whole period of the stay of the venerable lord Dipankara in that place he was not left alone but the king also stayed with him. On the third day of the entertainment arranged in Atisa's hounour from the side of the king, the great Atisa conducted a religious meeting by organising a grand *Satsanga* (religious meeting concerning exchange of questions and answers regarding spiritual and allied problems)[5]. In this connection Atisa demonstrated his erudite scholarship in course of this religious dissertation and the cause of Nepalese Buddhism was greatly enhanced. The very fact that the shrine of Svayambhu was under charge of the Bhutanese king shows that in spite of the dissociation of the local Nepalese ruler on this occasion from the Buddhist Nepal,

1. S. Dutt, op. cit., 'Brom-ton's Account of Life of Atisa', Appendix ii, p. 370.
2. S. C. Das, op. cit., pp. 69-70; S. Dutt, op. cit.
3. G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, Part i, p. 230; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 317.
4. S. C. Das, op. cit., p. 170.
5. Ibid.

Nepalese Buddhism did not suffer so long as public patrons were alive. Atisa blessed the king and his people with goodwill, prosperity and progress[1].

It has been mentioned that burdened beasts were unloaded and packages were stored in an encampment which was made for a temporary period[2]. Dipankara was deeply impressed by the enchanting sight of the Svayambhu Chaitya. He was so attracted towards it that he gazed at it for a time. Atisa sat under a tall shady tree. Gyatson sat on his right and his brother Viryachandra on the left side[3]. At the centre on a high seat sat the principal disciple of Atisa whose name was Maharaja Bhumi Sangha[4]. However, this Maharaja has not yet been identified. But on the basis of the meagre material available we may suggest here that he was no other than the Bhutanese king, who had given a special favour to Dipankara in Nepal and he might have become a Buddhist layman.

Episode of the Tham Vihara

It has been pointed out that Atisa reached the plain of Palpa, called Palpoi Than[5]. The same source mentions that king Anantakirti was the ruler of Nepal with his capital at Palpa[6]. The king is said to have received the venerable lord with much cordiality and reverence[7]. However, this king does not occur in the historical account of Nepal during the period of the visit of Atisa. It seems that this part of the narrative is fictitious. An authoritative historian of Nepal has tried to solve this riddle[8]. But instead of removing this misunderstanding he has made the problem worse confounded by putting up one Yasonatha as a *de jure* ruler of Palpa situated in west Nepal[9]. Instead of ascertaining the location of the

1. S.C. Das, op. cit.,
2. Ibid. p. 69.
3. Ibid., G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 242, fn.; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 315.
4. S.C. Das, op. cit.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 69.
8. D.R. Regmi, *Political and Economic History of Nepal (Earliest Time to 1800 A.D.)*, vol. ii (P.U.L., Patna, Ph. D. Thesis No. 79), p. 28.
9. Ibid.

Tham *vihara*, an irrelevant issue has been raised by presenting a new theory which has no connection with the point of discussion at present.

As a matter of fact, the place Tham *vihara* should be identified in such a way as it may have direct relation with the point of Atisa's role in Nepalese Buddhism. It is mentioned that the venerable lord reached the plain of Palpa, called Palpoi Than and met the king and prepared him for the revival of Buddhism. He was told to build the Tham *vihara*. Later accounts of Nepal prove that this Tham *vihara* was in the valley of Kantipura and not in Palpa. It is evident from the fact that Atisa, in course of his sermons to the king, advised to construct a Buddhist *vihara* in the city, named Tham *vihara*[1].

The story behind this Tham *vihara* is that when Atisa Dipankara visited the king of Nepal he presented an elephant to him[2]. The name of this elephant was *Drishta Aushadhi*. Before presenting it he instructed the king to the effect that this elephant should not be utilised in carrying arms or weapons and that only work conducive to peace should be taken from it[3]. For example, sacred objects, scriptures, symbols and images might be carried on it[4]. And Atisa, in return to that elephant, asked the king to build a monastery which should be named Tham *vihara*. The king constructed the *vihara* accordingly and permitted his son Padmabhadra to be ordained as a monk-pupil of the great Atisa[5]. The venerable lord accepted the proposal and ordained the son of the king as Bhikshu[6]. It was for the first time since Atisa had left Vikramasila for Tibet that he initiated a man as his pupil in Nepal[7].

It has been pointed out that Dipankara built a *vihara* which was called Tham *vihara* (Stham *vihara*) and deposited provisions

1. S.C. Das, op. cit., p.71; S. Dutt, op. cit., Appendix ii, 'Brom-ton's account of Life of Atisa', p.370.
2. S.C. Das, op. cit.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p.71
6. Ibid., p.70.
7. Ibid.

for supporting many Buddhist monks, who were living there[1]. During the early part of the thirteenth century A. D. a Tibetan monk-scholar, named Dharmasvamin (A.D. 1197-1264)[2], visited Nepal and had stayed there for eight years (A.D. 1226-1234)[3]. He has given a reliable account about this Tham *vihara*. Dharmasvamin mentions that there was a *vihara* called Tham. It was also called the "First *vihara*" or the "Upper *vihara*". In that *vihara* there was a *stupa* on which every evening a light appeared. That light was observed by Atisa also who had inquired of it. Nobody present there could explain it. Finally, an old woman explained that it must be the coloured dust after the erection of the *mandala* by the Buddha Kasyapa. Atisa then erected a temple to worship it. In front of this *stupa*, there was a golden image of Sakyamuni, who was also called Lord Abhayadana. The Indian Buddhists called it Dharmadhatuvihara.

The account of Dharmasvamin reveals many facts which, after a careful interpretation, present a good history of the Buddhist activities of Dipankara Srijnana. From this account we have come to know that Atisa, in course of his visit to Nepal, saw a *stupa* in the Tham area. He came to know that the *stupa* was erected by Buddha Kasyapa, who had also put a *mandala* over it. Most probably this Buddhist shrine had been ignored on account of the anti-Buddhist atmosphere in Nepal prevalent before the visit of Atisa. So in order to revive the Buddhist faith with a new zeal and enthusiasm he erected the temple to adore that valuable *stupa*. It was this Tham *vihara* which was called Dharmadhatuvihara by the Indian Buddhists. The golden image of Sakyamuni, called the lord Abhayadana, was also the creation of Atisa. For the maintenance of the institution of the Nepalese Buddhist scholars and Bhikshus living around this shrine Atisa managed to deposit some provisions out of the contributions forwarded by the Buddhist laymen and admirers belonging to the class of the merchants about whom we get enough references during the tenth and eleventh centuries A.D[4].

1. G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p.247.
2. Ibid., Part ii, p. 1057; G. Roerich, op. cit., p. xxxix (Intr.).
3. G. Roerich, op. cit., p. iv (Intr.).
4. G.N. Roerich, op. cit., Part i, pp. 247, 136, 252.

Work Of Dipankara In Nepal

The visit of Dipankara to Nepal during the eleventh century A.D. was an inauguration of a Buddhist period. A thoroughgoing Tantric sect known as *Kalachakrayana* was founded by him[1]. The *Kalachakrayana* is a mystic and esoteric cult. However, a study of the life and work of Dipankara shows that he was a puritan Buddhist whose role in Nepal was quite different from that in Tibet where his Tantric talent was actually required[2].

He utilised his time in convening religious meetings, holding religious assemblies and organising Buddhist *viharas* full of Bhikshus and Bhikshunis. The Tham *vihara* founded by him made rapid progress. He could not check his sense of admiration for his creation : "At the temple of Tham *vihara*, the manner of taking food and the manner of conducting the study of the Doctrine (by the monks) are good"[3]

An important work of Atisa in Nepal was his composition of a Buddhist book, named *Charya-Samgraha-Pradipa*[4] (चर्या-संग्रह-प्रदीप). Through this work, written for the cause of the Nepalese Buddhist ideas, Atisa tried to expose and denounce the evil aspects of Tantric Buddhism rampant in the Nepalese society. He described the *Charyas* of *Prajnaparamita* before the Nepalese Buddhists.[5] He emphasised over the Buddhist *sutras*[6] and exhorted his followers to pay respect to other religious scriptures. Dipankara also wrote a letter of goodwill and religious virtues to the king Nayapala (A. D. 1038-1053) of the Pala dynasty of Bengal. This letter is known as the *Vimala-ratnalekha-nama* (विमलरत्नलेखनाम) which was sent to Nayapala on the occasion of his formal coronation ceremony held in A.D. 1041[7]. However, it is touching to note that Dipankara did not

1. P. Thomas, *Colonists and Foreign Missionaries of Ancient India*, p. 81; D. R. Regmi, op. cit., Ph. D. Thesis No. 79, p. 29.
2. A. Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*, London, 1928, Second edn., pp. xxx-xxxi, F. A. Von Ralston, *Tibetan Tales*, London, p. xi; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 320.
3. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part i, p. 247.
4. A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 319-322
5. Ibid., p. 321.
6. Ibid.
7. A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 318-319

refer to anything about India, Nepal or Tibet. It contains only religious and moral precepts. Many important events were occurring during his stay in Nepal. But he maintained a characteristic silence and dispassionate note in his letter regarding extra-religious items. Certainly it is a testimony to an image of religion isolated from society and life of common people. The class character of Dipankara was of privileged social order.

Dipankara also laid due emphasis on the use of time. He attempted to provide the Buddhists of Nepal with a well-ordered routined life[1]. He explained the methods and purpose of meditation for the Nepalese Buddhists. He described the special meditation-posture called the sevenfold worship (*Saptangapuja*)[2], for them. He showed the importance of recognised and classical teachings of *Mahayana*[3].

Certainly four philosophical systems of Nepalese Buddhism, *Svabhavika*, *Aisvarika*, *Karmika* and *Yatnika*[4] (स्वाभाविक, ऐश्वरिक, कार्मिक, यात्निक) are the products of this period. Before his visit to Nepal, no attempt to systematise the Buddhist philosophy had been made so far. The Buddhist Trio of the eighth century A.D. did not do so, because during that period there was not so much of ideological mixture in Nepalese Buddhism as during the period of Atisa's stay in Nepal. The works of Sankaracharya and Gorakhanatha had affected the philosophy and religion of Nepalese Buddhism adversely and the process of synthesis of Brahmanical and Buddhist religions had already started in Nepal[5]. Naturally the task before Atisa was far heavier than that before the Buddhist Trio. This led to a peculiar development of Buddhist philosophy. It was this fact which contributed to the development of the four systems of the Nepalese Buddhist philosophy.[6]

When he was preparing to leave Nepal a sad incident occurred. This was the death of Gyaton, his favourite Tibetan disciple

1. A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., p. 321.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 322.
4. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, Strassburg, 1896. p. 134.
5. Bhagavan Das, *Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. iv, Calcutta, 1956, second edn., edited by H. Bhattacharyya, p. 4 (Intr.).
6. H. Kern, op. cit., 134.

and interpreter for Tibetan on his journey to Tibet[1]. It has been mentioned that Gyatson died through the effect of an evil charm thrown upon him by a Tantric. This left a very painful shadow over the party. Atisa was personally so shocked that he remarked : "Now that my tongue has dropped off, I shall be of no service to the Tibetans."[2] A whole month was spent at Svayambhu *Chaitya* in mourning which is also a testimony to the fact that Atisa had to exert hard in reshaping the Nepalese Buddhist philosophy even at the cost of the life of his beloved helper.

Dipankara in Tibet : A.D.1042-1054

At the end of A.D. 1041 the Nepalese king gave a happy send off to Dipankara leaving Nepal for Tibet[3]. The Tibetan king received him on the other side of the Tibeto-Nepalese border. Dipankara spent the last fourteen years of his life in Tibet. He revised the Tibetan chronological system and re-determined it on the basis of the Buddhist cosmology and cosmogony of the *Kalachakra* system[4]. Dipankara was honoured by the Tibetan Buddhists as the highest priest of Tibet and was invested with honorific title of Jovo Je (supreme lord)[5]. Dipankara spent his whole life in building Buddhist monuments, shrines in different parts of Tibet. He composed many Buddhist works in Tibet. He passed away in A. D. 1054. His body was cremated at sNa-than monastery near Lhasa.

SECTION III

A Reappraisal of Dipankara and His Alma Mater, Vikramasila Monastery

Archaeological excavations in progress at a village, Antichak, about 40 kms. from Bhagalpur town, heading for the

1. R. Sankrityayana, *Atita Se Vartamana*, p. 35; S. Dutt, op. cit., Brom-ton's account of Life of Atisa', p. 370.
2. S. Dutt, op. cit.
3. S.C. Das, op. cit., pp. 75-76; R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., pp. 35-36; S. Dutt, op. cit., p. 370; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 331-336.
4. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 122, 123.
5. S.C. Das, op. cit., p. 76; S. Dutt., op. cit., p. 370.

conclusive revelation of ancient Vikramasila University founded by king Dharmapala (A. D. 770-810) of the Pala dynasty have finally blown off the arguments forwarded by several scholars in the wake of their feelings of regional patriotism that Dipankara was a Bengali Buddhist scholar, born and bred up in the intellectual atmosphere of Vikrampur of modern Bangladesh. Many Tibetan manuscripts have helped the excavators in identifying a large number of images of Buddhist and Hindu deities found there. The Buddhist deities are of Buddha, Tara, Maitreya, Jambhala etc. The Hindu deities are of Uma Mahesvara, Mahishasuramardini, Vishnu, Ganesa, Surya, Yama, Manasa, Agni etc. A huge stone of the Buddha discovered there is believed to be the detached part of the monolithic figure of Mahabodhi which was attached to the central shrine of of the monastery referred to by the Tibetan manuscripts.

Many conjectures presented for locating the ancient site of the University of Vikramasila have now remained mere wild conjectures. Sir Alexander Cunningham identified it with the village, Silao near Rajgir (Rajagriha) and Nalanda. Professor S.C. Vidyabhusana identified it with Sultanganj. Professor N.C. De identified it with Patharghat near Colgong (Bhagalpur). The late Rahula Sankrityayana held that the University of Vikramasila was situated somewhere towards east of Sultanganj. However, present excavations came to different conclusion mentioned above.

The excavations in progress also indicate that the site was destroyed in three successions. In the first place main factor of destruction appears to have been the formidable Ganga flood-water. Shortly after the first destruction of the Vikramasila monastery some Brahmanical agencies constructed Hindu shrines on the debris of the Buddhist monuments. From this it also appears that in the first destruction, besides the Ganga flood-water, neighbouring Brahmanas played mischievous role in destroying this site. The second wave of destruction was facilitated because of substandard repair works following the first destruction. The last and final stroke of destruction was because of the Turkish invasion under the leadership of Bakhtyar Khilji during the last years of the twelfth century and early years of the thirteenth century A.D.

A similar logic and intelligence may be applied to purge the wrongs deliberately thrust upon the birthplace, early life and activities of Dipankara. His frequent visits to Rajagriha, to the notable places in the vicinity of the Vikramasila monastery, his close contacts with the scholars of this region rule out his association with Vikramapur of modern Bangladesh. His association with Sabour (in Bhagalpur district of Bihar) as held by the late Rahula Sankrityayana stands as an indelible historical reality. In this connection the bold assumption of Sri Nagwang Nima for his "most authentic" account becomes doubtful[1] because of its contradiction with the archaeological evidences.

1. Appendix-A, section-6, A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 396-404.

CHAPTER VII

VISITS OF THE TIBETAN BUDDHISTS TO NEPAL : A.D. 1052-1140

After the death of Dipankara in Tibet his tradition of Buddhist pilgrimage to Nepal was continued by later Tibetan Buddhist monks, scholars and laymen. Some Tibetan Buddhists visited Nepal roughly during A.D. 1054 and A.D. 1140. These wandering Buddhist mendicants have left their interesting itineraries which reflect contemporary social, religious and material conditions of the time. This trend was useful for Buddhism in Nepal, because it always held a significant position in the days of natural or man-made calamities either in India or Tibet.

SECTION I

Tibetan Buddhist Bhikshu Milarepa (A.D. 1052-1123) in Nepal

Early Life of Milarepa

Among the visiting Buddhist monks and scholarly dignitaries from Tibet the name of Milarepa stands high. He was born in Kyanga-Tea in the province of Gungthang in Tibet[1]. This place is situated on the Tibetan frontier of Nepal, a few miles east of the Kirong pass on the Nepalese side[2].

There is controversy over the date[3] of the birth of Milarepa. It has been stated that he was born in A.D. 1040.

1. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *Biography of Milarepa*, London 1921, p. 52; H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, p. 151.

2. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit.

3. L.A. Weddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet or Lamaism*, p. 65 (puts the date of the birth of Milarepa in A.D. 1038); H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p, 15 (puts the life period of Milarepa in A.D. 1040-1123); G. N. Roerich, *The Blue Annals*, part ii, p. 405 (puts the date of birth of Milarepa in A.D. 1040); E. Zurcher, *Buddhism : Its Origin and Spread in Words, Maps and Pictures*, London, 1962, p. 67 (puts in favour of A.D. 1040); W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 52 (puts the date as A.D. 1052).

The early life of Milarepa was a princely one. His hair was decorated and plaited with gold and turquoises during his childhood[1]. It appears, his parents were rich and well-travelled. His parents were adventurous and industrious[2]. But his youth was made gloomy by the death of his father. His uncle and aunt usurped his belongings and property[3]. His family was left to starve. This brought a tremendous change in his career.

Milarepa's Training in Evil Tantras

The starving mother of Milarepa felt offended to such an extent that she made up her mind to take revenge on her enemies. In this context she has been mentioned as "a temperamentally picturesque character"[4] In order to fulfil her cherished desire she encouraged her son to learn destructive Tantras which might destroy wealth, i.e., house, property and standing crops in the field[5]. In this way Milarepa's mind was poisoned in the beginning of his career, which, in turn, reveals the dominance of Tantras, necromancy and demonological feats over the well-spread Tantric Buddhist civilisation in the land of snow. With the help of hail-storms he destroyed the standing crops of his enemies as well as of the common field belonging to other people of his village.[6] He conjured horrible spirits, who beheaded his enemies, whose blood-besmeared heads were carried by them[7]. This led to a great repentance on the part of Milarepa. The sense of guilt in his conscience made him restless and this feeling, in turn, aroused an inquisitiveness for the acquisition of noble ideas and constructive Buddhist Tantras.

Milarepa's Tormentation and Ordination Under Marpa

Milarepa had a sincere craving for being the disciple of his contemporary Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholar, Marpa (A. D. 1012-1097).[8] He had obtained direct Tantric initiations from Naropa,

1. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p, 53.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 151.
4. H. Hoffmann, op. cit.
5. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 62; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 151.
6. Ibid., p. 152.
7. Ibid.
8. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part ii, p. 404; H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 140.

Maitripa and Kukkuripa.[1] The rare gifts of the mind of Marpa attracted Milarepa who went to his house and narrated his past career truthfully. At this Marpa became very much angry and he not only refused to make him his disciple but also warned him to keep the scriptures of the Black Art away from the sacred books and the holy relics that Marpa was possessing that time.[2]

Milarepa was put to very hard tests in course of undergoing the spiritual training under the guidance of Marpa. He was put under a severe period of probation and penance lasting for six years.[3] Milarepa was tormented by Marpa as severely as Naropa had once been tormented by his *Guru* Tilopa due to his similar background of destroying and damaging houses and standing crops of the common people.[4] However, Marpa agreed to initiate Milarepa provided the latter would complete the building of a many-storeyed house for Marpa's son without any assistance from others. Every time Milarepa nearly completed the house and Marpa ordered its destruction on some pretext or other. Indeed, Marpa had "mania for building"[5]. In this enterprise Milarepa was once badly beaten by Marpa and in this connection Milarepa had to jump out through a window to save his life,[6] although Milarepa was suffering from some bodily sores due to hard work in building house for Marpa.[7]

Milarepa had to flee from the house of Marpa and kept himself out of the latter's sight.[8] He left his books and several other belongings at the house of Marpa. He adopted the job of recitation of *Ashtasahasrikaprajnaparamita* on the condition of getting some remuneration in return.[9] It was there that he got lesson from the exemplary career of an Arhat, named Taktungoo, who had to sell the very flesh of his body for learning the ideas of this Faith.[10]

1. G. N. Rocrich, op. cit., pp. 400-401.
2. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 91.
3. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 152.
4. Ibid.
5. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 101.
6. Ibid., p. 110; H. Hoffmann, op. cit.
7. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 104; H. Hoffmann, op. cit.
8. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 111.
9. Ibid., p. 112.
10. Ibid.

He went back to the residence of Marpa, who again put Milarepa to the same hard test of building a house. At this stage Milarepa got uninvited help from the wife of Marpa and his disciple, named Ngogdum-chudor.[1] But there also he failed in his mission and again his ambition was badly foiled by the intervention of relentless Marpa. Milarepa lost all hopes and determined to commit suicide for the fulfilment of which he walked out of the sight of Marpa.[2] At any rate, his life was saved by Lama Ngogpa. This incident impelled many persons to weep for the cause of Milarepa and finally Marpa also was moved. After "eight deep tribulations" Milarepa was accepted by Marpa and as such his initiation ceremony was performed.[3] Thus Milarepa became the disciple of Marpa at the age of thirty-eight[4].

Ultimately Marpa gave many justifications for tormenting Milarepa.[5] Marpa advised him to obtain from India nine texts of Buddhism taught to Milarepa, who had already procured four of them[6]. So five only were to be obtained. These nine Buddhist texts which had been considered to be very famous and popular in Nepal were the following[7] :

(i) *Ashtasahasrikaprajnaparamita* (अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता)

(ii) *Saddharmapundarika* (सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक)

(iii) *Lalitavistara* (ललितविस्तर)

(iv) *Lankavatara* (लंकावतार)

(v) *Suvarnaprabhasa* (सुवर्णप्रभास)

(vi) *Gandavyuha* (गण्डव्यूह)

(vii) *Tathagataguhyaka* (तथागतगुह्यक)

(viii) *Samadhiraja* (समाधिराज)

(ix) *Dasabhumisvara* (दशभूमीश्वर)

1. Ibid., p. 123.
2. Ibid., p. 127.
3. Ibid., p. 131.
4. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 152.
5. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., pp. 130-131.
6. Ibid., p. 161.
7. G. K. Nariman, *Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism*, Bombay, 1920, p.64.

These nine Buddhist texts had been popular in Nepal and were incorporated into the teachings of Nepalese Buddhism, although on the basis of the historical evolution of Buddhistic ideas these nine texts "are no canon of any sect."[1] These nine texts are worshipped there as part and parcel of the "nine-Dharmas", which are, of course, "an abbreviation for *Dharmaparyaya* or religious texts."[2] Therefore, it seems that the influence of these nine *Dharmaparyayas* or Buddhist texts had loomed large in Tibet. Milarepa was well acquainted with Nepal and India in course of his spiritual and religious learning under the guidance of Naropa, Maitripa and Kukkuripa in India.

Marpa, at the time of the departure of Milarepa from his house, asked him to visit mountain caves and places for meditation in the hills of Tibet and Nepal[3].

Milarepa And Nepal

At the very outset of the Biography of Milarepa we get the description of a dream experienced by the biographer-cum-disciple of Milarepa, named Rechung. He has given a vivid description of Nepal's Buddhist Bhikshuni, who was the disciple of Tiphupa[4] and who was also the *Guru* of Rechung[5]. In his dream Rechung saw many things in Nepal regarding Buddhism and its developed system of the idea of the Bodhisatva doctrine[6]. He also saw many Nepalese Buddhist monk-scholars and Bhikshus, who were busy in sermonising and always moving among the Nepalese people. He came to know the sincere interest of the Nepalese Buddhist society also for the cause of Buddhism. All these scenes, although put np through the medium of a dream, provide us with a true picture of the time. Above all, these facts have been corroborated by other accounts found in *The Blue Annals*, Parts I and II, where we get descriptions given by eye-witness monks from Tibet.

Another important point is that Rechung was a great traveller and arduous adventure, who had made a comprehensive trip to

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 164.
4. Ibid., op. cit., pp. 42-45.
5. Ibid., p. 42.
6. Ibid.

India[1]. In course of his journey to India he came to see Nepal in detail which was, of course, a link, a mediating country, a cultural buffer, between India and Tibet.

While Milarepa was parting with Marpa, he was directed to lead a strict life and to be always vigilant[2]. He was given prior information about the seriousness of the life in the "retreat of mountain recesses, lonely caves and the solitude of wilderness".[3] In that connection Marpa pointed out some names of mountains to Milarepa, who was expected to come across them.

The names of the mountains in Nepal pointed out by Marpa were : Gyalgyi-Shri-La, Tise 'Peak, Demchog, Lapchi-Kang, the most sacred amongst all the twenty-four places of pilgrimage, being the Godavari of the scriptures, Riwo-Palbar and Yolmo-Kangra etc.[4] Among these places, Yolmo-Kangra is said to have been situated at a point in Nepal, which is about two days' journey north of Kathmandu. It means it is nearly thirty to forty miles north of Kathmandu. This region has been for a long time inhabited by the Tamang hill tribes. It appears, therefore, that Milarepa moved in Nepalese-Tibetan frontier regions from mount Palbar falling down in Mangyul towards west Nepal to Yolmo-Kangra of east Nepal. Between these two extremes of Nepal Milarepa travelled in search of Buddhist learning.

Milarepa faced some Tantric agents of mount Palbar. It was a place surrounded by a fairy goddess (most probably the local village goddess) and the local deities of Ragma[5]. In eourse of his ideological fight with them, he not only defeated them but also converted them into his fold. In the region of mount Palbar there was also the castle of Ragma. Next, Milarepa visited Yolmo-Kangra of the East and lived for some time in the Singala forest in which there was the Lion castle of the Tiger's cave. It has been mentioned that

1. W. Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 239.
2. Ibid., p. 164.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., pp. 164, 235, 239.
5. Ibid.

there too he served the cause of welfare of a large number of human beings and animals. This, in fact, states his pious activities among the hill tribes of Nepal.

There were places where the hill tribes were living in association with wild animals. Their life was rustic and unsophisticated. Milarepa spread the ideas of social reform. Through his kindness and measures of cure of the suffering beings he was able to influence them. Milarepa's contacts with these people shows that he had penetrated into the interior areas of Nepal. It was an act of courage on his part.

Having finished a great task of his mission in these regions Milarepa returned to Tibet, because he had been impelled by his divine exhortation to visit Tibet and meditate there for the welfare of the people. It has been mentioned that the biographer-cum-disciple of Milarepa, named Rechung, had to visit India for the treatment of leprosy[1]. He got relief and while he was returning to Tibet he met his *Guru*, who was then meditating in the Clear-Light cave of Ron[2]. Afterwards, he met Sangyay-Kyap-Repa at the perfect Castle of Ragma, where Milarepa, in his first sojourn in Nepal, had defeated the Tantric deities and converted them to his faith. The name and fame of Milarepa reached the king of Bhaktapura, who sent some religious offerings to Milarepa[3]. This time, Harshadeva (A.D. 1082-1098)[4], Sivadeva (A.D. 1098-1126)[5] and Simhadeva (A.D. 1110-1126)[6] were at the helm of Nepalese affairs. It was the time when the famous Karnata king, Nanyadeva (accession A.D. 1097) was invading Nepal[7]. This visit of Milarepa to Bhaktapura ("khokhom" as called in Tibetan) has been corroborated by Milarepas' Gur-Bum or "One Thousand songs"[8].

Milarepa was invited by the king of Bhaktapura. But Milarepa turned that invitation down and declared that he was not less impor-

1. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 239.
2. Ibid., p. 240.
3. Ibid., p. 241.
4. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 49-54.
5. Ibid., pp. 54-58.
6. Ibid.
7. *ABORI*, vol. xxxv, 1954, 'The Karnatas of Mithila', pp. 90-121.
8. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

tant than a king. He claimed to be the King of the revolving Wheel, wiser and mightier than the King of Nepal. At this the King appreciated the divine power of Milarepa and recognised his extensive spiritual kingdom. This shows the depth of the spiritual power and attainment of Milarepa, whose presenee was profoundly felt by the people there.

Milarepa's later life was revealing in respect of his selfless and sacrificing character. At the time of his death while he was surrounded by his admirers and followers he declared his will that no relics, no *stupas* or any symbol should be made over his cremation point;[1] instead, he wished that the flags of *Dharma-Vijaya* and *Bhakti* should be set up[2].

Milarepa's example was followed by many Tibetan Buddhist Bhikshus who visited Nepal for their spiritual advancement. Nepal became the place of their primary pilgrimage.

SECTION II

Visits of other Tibetan Buddhist Bhikshus to Nepal

After the role played by Milarepa for the cause of Buddhism in Nepal, also other Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars and Bhikshus who were evidently less important than he, showed their interest in Nepalese Buddhism. This points out the importance of Nepal during this period when Buddhists from other countries visited Nepal for the acquisition of higher Buddhist learning. Nepal was not only a very peaceful country but also the vanguard of the *Mahayana* Buddhist faith for the northern Buddhist eountries beyond the Himalayas and for those who ventured to see this land of Buddhist faith during this period.

rNog Lo-chen po : A.D. 1059-1109

rNog Lo-chen po was born in A.D. 1059[3]. During his childhood he was influenced by the Buddhist learning of his uncle who was an eminent Buddhist Bhikshu of his time in Tibet[4]. However, no

1. W.Y. Evans-Wentz, op. cit., p. 261.
2. Ibid., p.
3. G. Roerich, op. cit., Part i, p. 325.
4. Ibid.

detailed account of his uncle is available to us. It has been mentioned that because of his Buddhist knowledge he was sent by his uncle to Kasmir in A.D. 1076 in order to study Indian Buddhist ideas[1]. His importance in the Tibetan Buddhist society of his time may be gauged from the fact that he was invited by his contemporary Tibetan king to attend the religious council convoked in A .D. 1076 just before he left for Kasmir[2]. His role in that conference was so strong and impressive that the son of the Tibetan king emphatically supported his stand in the Buddhist philosophy and admired his scholarly approach to Buddhist ideas explained on the occasion which added a new feather to his Buddhistic scholarship.

In Kasmir rNog showed his keen interest in his contemporary Indian Buddhist ideas. Inspite of his mature scholarship in this field he had sincere craving for learning. He consulted as many as six Buddhist monks and scholars in Kasmir. Among them Sanjana and Parahitabhadra were important Buddhist scholars, who impressed the Tibetan Buddhist scholar by their learning. It was because of their close contact that rNog did a good service to the cause of Buddhism by rendering translations of two works from Sanskrit to the Tibetan language, namely, *Pramanavartikalamkara* (प्रमाणवार्तिकालंकार) and *Pramanalamkara* (प्रमाणालंकार)[3]. This shows that his favourite subject of Buddhist learning in Kasmir was Buddhist logic. After his seventeen years of stay in Kasmir he returned to Tibet in A. D. 1093[4].

In Tibet rNog revised his learning of Tibetan Buddhist ideas under the supervision of the scholars like Sthirapada (स्थिरपाद) and Sumatikirti (सुमतिकीर्ति)[5]. But he felt no satisfaction with his learning acquired in Kasmir and Tibet. So he visited Nepal in order to learn tantric Buddhism from Atulyavajra (अतुल्यवज्र), Varendraruchi (वारेन्द्ररुचि) and others. After his short stay in Nepal he went back to

1. Idid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid·
5. Ibid.

his country. He revised his knowledge and corrected several of his translated works in the light of Buddhist theory and practice of Nepalese scholars.

The visit of rNog to Nepal changed his mind. He occupied an important place among the Tibetan Buddhist monk-scholars. He was deeply influenced by his experiences and learning of Buddhism in Nepal. He held some religious meetings in Tibet which were attended by twenty-three thousand Tibetan Buddhists[1]. He had as many as four thousand two hundred and sixty-five assistants at his disposal.[2] They were entrusted with different subjects for preachings among the people. Main subjects concerned with their preachings were Alamkara based ou *Pramanavartikalamkara* (प्रमाणवार्तिकालंकार), *Pramana-Vinischayatika* (प्रमाणविनिश्चयटीका), *Pramanavinischaya* (प्रमाण-विनिश्चय), *Agama-Dharmabhanakas* (आगमधर्मभाणक) and some aspects of general Buddhist philosophy[3].

The account of Buddhistic learning of rNog shows that he got satisfactory knowledge of Buddhism in Nepal, on the basis of which he had to revise all his previous works done in Kashmir and Tibet. This testifies to the importance of Nepal, where he could meet erudite scholars of Buddhist philosophy like Atulyavajra (अतुल्यवज्र) and Varendraruchi (वारेन्द्ररुचि).

Ma-gcig : A.D. 1062-1150

Ma-gcig was born in A. D. 1062. The physical descriptions ascribed to her prove that she was a born Buddhist genius of her time. Although she was married in A.D. 1076 she did not get interest in her husband because of her burning desire to know the Buddhist faith. She, therefore, separated herself from her husband and started her Buddhist education under the guidance of a tantric teacher and remained with him from A.D. 1079 to A.D. 1084. The name of her tantric teacher was rMa about whom we do not know much. From this short narrative available to us it may be surmi-

1. Ibid.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., p. 326.

sed that she remained with her husband for three years only, i.e., from A.D. 1076 to A.D. 1079.

In course of her chequered career she fell victim to a dangerous venereal disease in A.D. 1093 and she remained in this suffering condition up to A.D. 1096. At this stage she had to take assistance from a prominent tantric Buddhist monk-scholar, named Dam-pa, who was well-versed in Buddhist herbology. From her ailment it may reasonably be presumed that the contemporary Buddhist society in Tibet was saturated with moral corruption up to the extreme point. This is also to be inferred from her teacher Dam-pa's relation with her. However, she followed all the directions of her new teacher and finally she planned to visit Nepal.

In A.D. 1096 she along with her teacher Dam-pa visited Nepal. In Nepal Ma-gcig remained for ninety days during which period she toured extensively and met several Buddhist Bhikshus and *Siddhacharyas*. She was very busy while in Nepal. She managed to have the personal interviews with all the famous monks and *Siddhacharyas* living in an eminent Nepalese Buddhist shrine "Ramadoli" near Kathmandu. She visited several Nepalese Buddhist deities for her mental peace. After her visit to Nepal she was cured. She worked hard for the cause of Buddhism and died in A.D. 1150.

Summing up all the points in her life we may say that she was an enigmatic personality in the Tibetan Buddhist society. In the earlier period of her life she divorced her husband for the cause of Buddhism and set an example in Tibet. But later she came under the influence of the worst Tibetan tantric Buddhists, who made her badly inclined to sexo-yogic practices. She founded a tantric path of sexual practices in Tibet in this respect. Her trip to Nepal, however, surpassed all her previous activities and it was after this trip that she became disease-free and gained much reputation in Tibet.

During the short period of her stay in Nepal for three months Ma-gcig got unique experiences. She got an opportunity to come in contact with Buddhist learning under the *Siddhacharyas* and

Bhikshus. She attained her spiritual realisation after that very journey. She visited also the Buddhist centres situated in the twenty-four regions of Tibetan-Mongolian border areas and practised meditation. She showed miracles and impressed many persons. The learning acquired by her in the company of Nepalese Buddhist scholars in A.D. 1096 was so mature and deep that her followers, Tibetan Buddhist Bhikshunis, debated and refuted the theories forwarded by Gos Khug-pa Lhas-btass, who had convoked the famous religious council of the *Tripitakadharas* and presided over this conference. She remained undefeated and proved her versatility in the Buddhist scriptures. Had there been no chance of a visit to Nepal for her she would have died as a spoilt genius, a Tibetan Buddhist jewel in the society of Tibetan women of this period would have died unknown and unrewarded.

Khon-phu-ba A.D. : 1069-1144

Khon-phu-ba[1] was the younger brother of Ma-gcig. He was born in A.D. 1069. It is mentioned that his real name was Chos-kyi rgyal-po, although he was popular by the name of Khon-phu-ba. He learnt *Vartula* script by A.D. 1077. He was determined to learn and practise Buddhism and in this connection he read many religious treatises. He was suggested to come to India for attaining scholarship. Meanwhile he studied the *Ayudhopamanama-Vachanamukha* from the greatest scholar of Tibet of his time named Ronzom Chos-bzan.

In course of the account of the life of Khon-phu-ba the most valuable mention that has been made is about the famous Indian and Nepalese Buddhist scholars of his time. This statement provides us with a sound historical background for the reconstruction of the history of Buddhism during the period. Among the Indian Buddhist monk-scholars we are informed of the names of Abhaya, Srigupta, Ti-pu, Sunyasri and Jina. Among the Nepalese Buddhist scholars names of Pham-mthin-pa or Vagisvarakirti and Nag-gi dban-phyug grags-pa have been indicated. All these Buddhist scholars are said to be renowned for the *Guhyasamaja* system of

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part i, pp. 221, 226-228.

teaching. In this connection one interesting fact is also mentioned that the remains of the Nepalese Buddhist monk-scholar Vagisvarakirti are preserved at Lo-chia tun near Lan chou[1]. Besides, one more place called Phambi[2] near Kathmandu has been identified. Its importance is that it was the famous centre of the descendants of Vagisvarakirti, Ye-ran-ba, Atulyavajra and Mahan rdo-rje. This place attracted several Tibetan Buddhist pilgrims.

In A. D. 1095 Khon-phu-ba came to Nepal where he heard the commentary and interpretation of the doctrine of Maitripa[3] (Maitripa was the *Siddhacharya* and was one of the *Gurus* of Mar-pa), from the Nepalese Buddhist scholar, named Yeran-ba. He got an opportunity to learn the interpretation of *Kalachakra* from Vagisvarakirti. He also heard the recitation of *Yogaratnamala nama-Hevajra-Panjika* from Atulyavajra. It has been pointed out that again, having gone to Nepal, he met the Indian Buddhist teacher Atulyavajra from whom he could learn through initiation the Samvara cycle (*Samvarachakra*) and the system of Naropa.

From the foregoing account we learn that Khon-phu-ba stayed in Nepal for a short period during his first trip and learned his desired subjects and went back to Tibet. In Tibet, however, he revised his learning which he had got from his native Buddhist scholars. This reveals the importance of Nepal where active Buddhist researches were being done under the vigilant guidance of the *Siddhacharyas* and eminent Buddhist monk-scholars of India, who also from time to time paid their visits to Nepal and stayed there for the sake of imparting up-to-date information about Buddhist ideas to inquisitive Tibetan Buddhist scholars.

Khon-phu-ba managed to visit India. But before it he preferred to halt in Nepal so that he could get a background knowledge of the traditions and religious conditions of India through the contacts of the Indian Buddhist Bhikshus, monk-scholars and the *Siddhacharyas* visiting Nepal. In so doing his journey to India

1. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 227.
2. Ibid.
3. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part ii, pp. 400-401.

became convenient and useful. Besides, by the combined study of Tibetan and Nepalese Buddhist ideas he equipped himself intellectually to argue with the Indian Buddhist scholars and for this purpose he took keen interest in Nepalese Buddhism which played the role of a religious buffer between India and Tibet. Khon-phu-ba, therefore, finally started for India (Vikramasila) with Sunyasri as his attendant.

Khon-phu-ba came to India and visited Vikramasila, Nalanda and Vajrasana. At Vikramasila he heard of the religious merits of *Kalachakra* (the cycle of the Great Merciful one) together with the *Dharani-Sadhana* from the Lama Da-chen-po. Most probaly Da-chen-po was the resident professor of Tibetan Buddhist philosophy at Vikramasila, where he was always at the disposal of the visiting Tibetan Buddhist scholars. It has heen stated that Da-chen-po was the Bodhisattva Danasri. However, we are not in a position to say more about the Lama Da-chen-po.

It has beeen pointed out at one stage that at Nalanda Khon-phu-ba was requested by the nephew of the Brahmana Ratnavajra to interpret the *Sadhana* of Vajrayogini Tantra[1]. This shows the well-known scholarship of Khon-phu-ba in Tantra which he had learnt in Nepal.

However, Khon-phu-ba proceeded to Vajrasana and there he fortunately chanced to meet the great teacher, Ka-so-ri-pa from whom he heard the interpretation of the *Sadhana* of Tara nama. We do not know more than this stray piece of information about Ka-so-ri-pa. But his name and fame in the Vajrasana area shows that he was a famous *Siddhacharya*, who gave initiation to Khon-phu-ba and imparted several other religious instructions to him.

In A.D. 1099 Khon-phu-ba returned to Tibet. Soon his father died. After having finished the funeral ceremony and other necessary formalities of his late father, he married two wives in A.D. 1100.[2] But from his activities it seems that his marriage did not hamper the cause of Buddhism in Tibet. He served the Tibetan

1. G. N. Roerich, op.cit., Part i, p. 229.
2. Ibid., p. 228.

Buddhist society with sincerity and also completed the unfinished work of Kalyanamitra. Besides, he took a long religious tour and visited several Buddhist places of pilgrimage in Tibet. In this way his career appears to be always busy for Buddhism. He died in A.D. 1144.[1]

Lha-rje zla-bai od-zer : A.D. 1123-1182

Lha-rje was the son of Khon-phu-ba and in many ways he proved himself to be the worthy son of a worthy father. He was born in A.D. 1123.[2] He was known as the incarnation of Dharmapa. This proves that he was a puritan in his character and a man of integrity.

His early life reveals that he was the talented Buddhist. Up to the age of sixteen he had already finished his education in Tibet and made preparations to visit Nepal and India. He had got all directions from his father before he started for Nepal in A.D. 1139.

Lha-rje reached Nepal in A.D. 1139/1140. There he met many teachers including Jayasena and others. Through his persuasion the funeral urns of his mother and maternal uncle were carried to Nepal where his teacher Jaysena performed the consecration rites.

It has been stated that on many occasions in Nepal Lha-rje hoisted the parasol over the Svayambhu Chaitya. It was at this stage that we are informed of the important religious conditions of Nepal. It has been shown that during this period the Svayambhu Chaitya was under the charge of the king of Bhutan and Bodhanatha was under the supervision of the Tibetan king. It appears that these two famous Buddhist shrines of national fame, though in Nepal, were not supported by the Nepalese king in any way. Nevertheless, this lack of interest on the part of the Nepalese king did not hamper the cause of Nepalese Buddhism, because it was under the supervision of two eminent kings of the northern Buddhist regions. In these Buddhist shrines of Nepal thrived two schools of Buddhism—the Svayambhu Chaitya commanded

1. G.N. Roerich, op. cit. Part i, p. 228.
2. Ibid., p. 221.

the respect of the *Mahayana* school and it had its guide line on the basis of the up-to-date developments in eastern Indian Buddhist centres; Bodhanatha represented the Lamaist school of Tibet, the king of which country was personally looking after it through his representatives. It is remarkable that the common Buddhist people of Nepal supported these Buddhist shrines with all their energy and enthusiasm.

During this period the politics of Nepal was also in favour of the cause of Nepalese Buddhism. Although the Karnata kings failed to establish their hegemony over the Nepalese soil, the conditions of Nepal were disturbed due to their invasions. Besides, Manadeva, the ruler of Nepal, became a Buddhist monk in Chakravihara.[1] This helped the cause of Nepalese Buddhism. The failure of the Karnata kings in Nepal ruled out the possibility of an ambitious revival of the Hindu cult. This encouraged the Nepalese Buddhist society in pursuing a policy of expansion and stabilisation of the Buddhist culture in Nepal.

Lha-rje had acquired a good knowledge of the Buddhist Tantras in Nepal and impressed many Nepalese Buddhist monks and nuns of repute. It has been stated that he had visions of four wonderful spectacles in Nepal. As a matter of fact, these visions were nothing but a manner of setting forth facts of the period under review and as such may not be ignored. In the first vision Lha-rje narrates the state of the tantric Buddhist society of the period in a vivid way. He saw these tantric attributes being practised by the Buddhists in Uddiyana. In the second vision he shows the condition of Nepal where *Pancha Makaras* were popularly followed in the Buddhist festivals. Girls freely participated in such rites.[2] The third vision reveals that a Buddhist tantric checked the movement of an army.[3] This means that the state machinery was also not free from the influences of the tantric Buddhist monk-scholars and the wandering *Siddhacharyas*. In the fourth vision he saw the

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 60.
2. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 231.
3. Ibid.,

victory of the Buddhists over the power of military.[1] These visions indicate remarkable progress of Buddhism in Nepal.

From the foregoing account it appears that the Buddhist monk-scholars and Bhikshus of Nepal had enlarged their interests publicly by means of demonstration of tantric feats according to Buddhist methods so that all sections of society were attracted towards their activities. Lha-rje died in A.D. 1182.

Zig-po of dbUs : A.D. 1125-1195

Zig-po was born in A.D. 1125. While he was working as a clerk at the school of rJe-btsun sGro-sbug-pa,[2] he became Buddhist. After that he visited Lha-rje and studied under him three stages of the *Utpannakrama* and *Sampannakrama* degrees. He then thought of going to his native place somewhere in Tibet known as dbUs to hold the ceremony of his coming of age. In order to collect the things required for the ceremony, such as a parasol, conch and offering utensils, he journeyed to Nepal. It appears that he went to Nepal roughly in A. D. 1041 when he was already sixteen years old. While in the way, one night a thought occurred to him that though he possessed a considerable knowledge of the Doctrine, he possessed no precepts to practise it. He thought that if he were to die then, he possessed no effective method (of spiritual realisation). He then thought that it would be better for him to obtain precepts and thus retraced his steps. He came to his teacher, Lha-rje, who had already visited Nepal and made his request. The teacher bestowed on him the precepts of the Precious Oral Tradition, and he journeyed to Nepal to practise them.

Zig-po reached Gun-than in Man-yul[3], the famous Buddhist centre situated on the Nepal-Tibet border in the western Himalayan sector, where the Buddhist Trio and the succeeding Buddhist monk-scholars of India used to stay and he sat for seven days in meditation on the impartial "Great Achievement". Having collected the requisites for the offering, he left Nepal, and on arrival

1. G.N. Roerich, op. cit., p. 231.
2. Ibid., p. 130.
3. Ibid.

at Gun-than in Man-yul fell ill with fever. Having entrusted his belongings to the villagers he proceeded towards the mountains and there practised meditation. Again an impartial concentration of mind was produced in him and he developed the power of passing through soil, stones, mountains and rocks. Everything seemed to him to be devoid of value. He left behind all the articles collected by him for the ceremony of his coming of age and kept only altar cups for water which also he offered to his teacher. All of a sudden he understood the words of the doctrines of all the vehicles without leaving out even a single word. Further he remained unhurt by falling boulders and maintained the view that the absence and presence of a visual object were not to be differentiated. This great Master of Yoga was endowed with many similar great achievements. Having obtained instruction in the Doctrine from the best disciples of his uncle, he became able to maintain his own school. He continued his meditations and while doing so he kept a school for eighteen years. He died at the age of seventy in A.D. 1195.

From this foregoing account it is clear that only after his visit to Nepal Zig-po could reach the height of the spiritual realisation and yogic perfection. It was the influence of Nepalese Buddhism on his career that he established his own school of Buddhism based on the yogic precepts observed by him in Nepal.

SECTION III

Role Of The Karnatas (कर्णाट) Of Mithila (मिथिला) In The History Of Nepalese Buddhism : A. D. 1097-1324

The Karnata rule was as important in the history of Mithila as the Sena rule was in the history of Bengal[1]. The Karnatas played an important role in influencing the course of the history of Buddhism in Nepal.

An Introduction to the Emergence of the Karnatas in North Bihar

References of the Karnatas or the Karnata-kshatriyas (कर्णाट-क्षत्रिय) are scattered in the Pala (पाल) and Sena epigraphs[2]. The

1. D. C. Sircar, 'The Karnatas Outside Karnataka' *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, 1959, Calcutta, pp. 213-214.

2. R. Mukherji and S. K. Maity (ed.), *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, 1967, Calcutta, pp. 118 (verse 15), 168 (verse 17), 202 (verse 13), 215 (verse 18), 246 (verse 8), 278 (verse 4).

Karnatas were the professional fighters. In this connection they migrated to different parts of north India in search of their livelihood. They had got many employments under the Pala rulers of Bihar and Bengal which is evident from numerous references in the Pala records. In the second half of the A. D. eleventh century, and the early years of the A. D. twelfth century, the Senas in Bengal and the Karnatas in north Bihar came to light because of the Chalukya (चालुक्य) invasions over north India undertaken by Somesvara I and Vikramaditya IV[1]. Main reasons for the emergence of the Karnatas to prominence was their military qualities[2] which enabled them to eslablish a kingdom in Mithila or north Bihar.

The Selection of Simaramapattana (सीमारामपट्टण) as the Capital of the Karnata Kingdom

Nanyadeva laid down the foundation of the Karnata dynasty of Mithila or Tirabhukti (तीरभुक्ति) or Tirhut (तिरहुत) on 18 July 1097[3] at Simaramapattana or Simraon Garh (सिमरौन गढ़)[4], at present situated in the Nepal territory, north of Ghorasahan (घोड़ासहन) Railway station of the East Champaran district of Bihar. Tirabhukti had been an ancient Indian administrative unit of north India. It is bounded on north by the Himalaya (हिमालय), on the south by the (गंगा), on the west by the river Gandaka (गण्डक) and on the east by the river Kosi (कोसी)[5]. It Comprised the modern districts of West Champaran, East Champaran, Vaisali, Muzffarpur, Sitamarhi, Samastipur, Darbhanga, Madhubani and a suitable part of the Nepal territory. The regions of Sravastibhukti (श्रीवस्तीभुक्ति) and Pundravardhanabhukti (पुण्ड्रवर्धनभुक्ति) were situated respectively to the west and east of it. The clay seals of the Vaisali excavations reveal that Vaisali had been the capital of Tirabhukti. The Gupta emperors maintained it as the provincial capital of Tirabhukti from A. D. 319 to A. D. 550. After a period of two hundred thirty-one

1. R. C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, vol. i, P. 209.
2. Ibid., pp. 143, 279.
3. S. Levi. op. cit., vol., ii, p. 194.
4. S. Levi, op. cit., p. 97 fn.; R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 209, 212; B. Sen, *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (pre-Muslim Epochs)*, 1942, Calcutta, p. 462.
5. B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India*, 1967, Calcutta, 311.

years the Gupta dynasty declined. The inhabitants of Vaisali abandoned the place and the town became desolate. However, Tirabhukti continued as the provincial unit for administrative purposes althongh its capital town remained unknown to modern historians of ancient India for a long period.

After a gap of five hundred and forty-seven years, the Karnatas under the leadership of Nanyadeva appeared on the scene in A. D. 1097. Nanyadeva selected a distant place, Simaramapattana as the new vantage point for the capital town of the Karnata kingdom. No body so far could find out the reasons as to why did he ignore Vaisali as the tradtional capital of the realm. This ignorance was maintained because of a break or gap in the continuity of historical evidences.

However, with the discovery of Svetapura (श्वेतपुर) made by Professor Yogendra Mishra, hitherto forgotten capital of Tirabhukti between A. D. 550 and A. D. 1097[1] many riddles of the history of north Bihar of ancient time have come to an acceptable solution. On the basis of the Chinese sources it has been proved that after the decline of the town of Vaisali Svetapura occupied its position and continued as the capital of Tirabhukti from A. D. 550 to the late A. D. eleventh century. An investigation into the archaeological remains, such as coins, seals, terracotta figurines, pottery-pieces and above all continuous rows of ruins of ancient townlife along the Gandaka river has presented authentic grounds to prove as to why the Karnata chief, Nanyadeva did shift his capital to Simaramapattana.

The Svetapura town, in fact, was very old. Its history was linked up with the ancient cities of Pataliputra and Vaisali. The Buddha always passed through it in course of his journey from north Bihar to Magadha. His disciple Ananda attained his *Nirvana* (निर्वाण) at this place. The place Nadika (नादिका) or Natika (ङ्गातिका) or

1. Yogendra Mishra, *Tirabhukti ki Aba Tak Vismrita Rajadhani Svetapura ki Khoja* (तीरभुक्ति की अबतक विस्मृत राजधानी श्वेतपुर की खोज), 22 April 1976 Begusarai (Bihar). This site is situated among twelve villages about ten to fourteen miles east of Hajipur town of Bihar.

Jnatrika (ज्ञात्रिका) referred to in the *Mahaparinibbana Sutta* (महापरिनिब्बान सुत्त) was no other than this Svetapura. Profsssor Yogendra Mishra holds this view that the Jnatrika clan of Vaisali was active behind its township. After A. D. 550 its destiny was controlled by Arunasva, the provincial governor of Harshavardhana. But he had to lose all gains in A. D. 648 in course of his retaliating battles against the Chinese warrior Wang Hsuan -t'se[1]. Afterwards it was controlled by the Tibetans up to A. D. 703. The later Guptas flourished on the scene after its liberation from the Tibetan yoke which is attested to by the copper-plate epigraph of Katra supposed to be of the A. D. eighth century. Then followed the rule of the Chandra dynasty. Lastly the Pala rulers emerged on the scene as the virtual master of the eastern Indian region about A. D. 790 with their hold over Tirabhukti. They controlled this area for about three hundred years.

In A. D. 1097 Nanyadeva emerged on the scene. But he smelt dangers of direct confrontations with powerful rulers of eastern India He foresaw dangers of the Muslim invasions which had already started on Indian soil in distant corners. Above all, Svetapura was situated just on the bank of the river Gandaka because of being the river-port of Tirabhukti. The Gandaka river was regularly eroding its township and every flood season started dislocating the normal life and activity of the people of Svetapura. This regular devastation is evident from the ruins of the ancient townlife clearly visible from the bank of the river Gandaka. The drainage system, the soakwell of earthen rings, the brick walls, etc., all constituting the chief features of townlife manifests bright past of material culture ruthlessly destroyed by the river Gandaka. These things show that there were sufficient reasons to convince Nanyadeva of insecurity and constant source of troubles hoavering over the place.

Geographically, Simaramapattana was in safe position of Tirabhukti. For a period of two hundred and twenty-seven years it remained out of dangers befallen on the capital towns of the average eastern Indian monarchs. Therefore, the selection of

1. D. Devahuti, *Harsha : A Political Study*, 1970, London, pp. 215-216.

Simaramapattana as the capital of Tirabhukti or Mithila symbolising the Karnata kingdom was a wise step of Nanyadeva.

Policy of the Karnatas Towards Nepal

The reign period of Nanyadeva had been A.D. 1097-1147. The foundation of his kingdom was weak in the beginning because of the lack of complete knowledge of the region. But he was shrewd politician and able administrator[1]. By posting himself at the safe place Nanyadeva was in position to control the political situations on both sides, the eastern Indian and the Nepalese terai regions of his kindom. The historic position of the Karnata capital and subsequent activities related with it could not remain a mystery for the Nepalese rulers of the Kathmandu valley. Powesful Nepalese aristocracy[2] was a strong political force which guided the ruling dynasties through its control over several socio-economic organs of the society. In this connection it is to be noted that some scholars writing on the history of Mithila are habituated to ignore the role of this incipient Nepalese political group and its consciousness and have deliberately thrust their views with assertion that the Karnatas were active in the main ruling genealogy of the Nepalese history. In fact this is a wrong assessment of the situation. A great deal of confusion has been spread in the wake of regional patriotism. This type of wrong has a long trail of account. In course of consideration of the Indian cultural influence over many Southeast Asian countries the advocates of Greater Indian Society should be held responsible for spreading a wrong notion or misdirected interpretation of true history. The terms such as "Indian colonies in the Far East", "the cultural Empire in Asia" and so on are the testimonies to this wrong reading and explanation of history. This characteristic view is the parallel current of the obsolete British imperial historiography which was patronised by the British indologists and their Indian lackeys in justifying the British policy in Asia. In fact this has been the real cause which created lot of misunderstandings among Asian neighbours regarding Indian culture and writings.

1. R. C. Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 141, 164-165, 209, 212.
2. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 54.

However, Nanyadeva was conscious of his limitations. Being the chief of the Karnata-kshatriyas, the professional fighters for a time, Nanyadeva had many internal problems of settlements and compromise with his supporters who had facilitated his mission of establishing a kingdom. The feudal character of the Karnata dysnasty was the main issue which engaged him in local problems. At this stage of beginning Nanyadeva had no means to envisage an empire or at least his sway over the valley of Nepal. He adopted a policy of non-intervention or splendid isolation from the Nepalese politics[1]. Professor L. Petech states that Nanyadeva never was the king of Nepal, being completely unknown to the *Vamsavalis*. But apparently he did raid Nepal after the death of Harshadeva[2]. This isolationist policy was necessitated by two reasons. In the first place his involvement in Nepalese politics might have encouraged his eastern Indian adversaries in dislodging his political hegemony over north Bihar. Secondly, it was dangerous, because it might have dragged him to be a party to either of the fighting factions of the valley feudatories who were often rebelling to be independent. Thus he concentrated his attention over the non-political activities of Nepal for stabilising the material foundations of his kingdom.

Role Of Nanyadeva And Nepalese Buddhism

Nanyadeva was a lover of Sanskrit literature. He is said to have written a commentary on the *Natyasastra* (नाट्यशास्त्र) of Bharata (भरत)[3]. In this connection he patronised many local scholars of Mithila who carried his mission to Nepal. His popular *ragas* (राग) referred to in the *Samgita Ratanakara* (संगीत रत्नाकर) of Sarangadeva[4] and also reflected in Nanyadeva's *Sarasvati Hridayalankara* (सरस्वती हृदयालंकार)[5] formed an enchanting part of his role in Nepalese Buddhist society. However, this part of the non-political activities of Nanyadeva did not affect Nepalese Buddhism adversely. It was an

1. D. R. Regmi, *Ancient and Medieval Nepal*, pp. 144-146; *Medieval Nepal*, part I, pp. 149-1568.

2. L. Petech, op. cit., 52-53.

3. M. Ramkrishnakavi, 'king Nanyadeva on Music', *JAHRS*, vol. I, part 2, 1926, pp. 61, 62.

4. Cecil Bendall, op. cit., pp. 1-12.

5. M. Ramkrishnakavi, op. cit., pp. 56-58, 62.

innocent part related to fine art which was duly loved by the Nepalese singers of the Buddhist *Charya* (चर्या) songs because of its freshness.

However, there is no evidence that Nanyadeva's Brahmanical attitude pertaining to his inclination towards the Saiva cult[1] influenced Buddhism in Nepal or spread Brahmanism at the cost of Buddhism. This period was good opportunity for the Nepalese Buddhists. Art and craft of Nepal of this period were in favour of Buddhism. Erotic symbols of *Vajrayana* (वज्रयान) and *Sahajayana* (सहजयान) were favourite models for the Buddhist artists of Nepal.[2] The tantric Buddhism had already developed into monstrous and polydemonist doctrine which incorporated the *Mahayana* (महायान) practices and called itself the *Vajrayana* (वज्रयान) or Thunderbolt-vehicle and its followers were named *Vajracharaya* (वज्राचार्य)[3]. Professor A. K. Warder mentions that it is only Nepal that the Indian *Mahayana* (महायान), representing on the whole the *Madhyamika-Mantrayana* (माध्यमिक मंत्रयान), synthesis of the twelfth century and Tibétan Buddhism, has continued without violent interruption, in a restricted but secluded region, to the present day. Yet the Buddhists of Nepal came more and more to look towards Tibet, the stronghold of Buddhism for strength and guidance[4].

The *Vajracharyas* वज्राचार्य were strong religious force of the Buddhist community of Nepal during this period. They guided the social and religious behaviours of the Nepalese Buddhists. The Buddhist *viharas* were studded with them and many esoteric cells of Buddhist mystics flourished during this period. Many Buddhist texts belonging to esoteric practices were translated into the Tibetan language. The famous Buddhist tantric philosopher, Advayavajra (A D. 978-1030)[5], a Nepal-born Buddhist monk-scholar had been the exponent of the doctrine of *Sunyata* (शून्यता) in the annals of Buddhist

1. V.V. Mirashi, *Studies in Indology*, vol. I, 1961, Sholapur, p. 90 fn.
2. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 41.
3. L. A. Waddell, op. cit., p. 15.
4. A.K. Warder, *Indian Buddhism*, 1970, Delhi, p. 514.
5. B. Bhattacharyya. *Sadhanamala*, vol. II, Intr. p.xci.

philosophy[1]. B. Bhattacharyya states that on the basis of Advaya-vajra's strong conception of *Sunyata* (शून्यता) the ideas of godhead was philosophically most profound, a parallel to which is scarcely to be met with in any other Indian religion[2]. Above all it was also the period of the *Siddhacharyas* (सिद्धाचार्य), who were propagating the simplified Buddhist ideas among the common people of the eastern Indian regions, Nepal and Tibet. They had already patronised the local dialects of the people as means of oral communication for preaching the Buddhist faith. They had kept themselves away from sophisticated intellectual activities of courtlife and religious or spiritual contemplation meant for privileged social order of the Brahmanical society. They stood against the Brahmanical orthodoxy and caste system[3]. Their songs and mystic lyrics reflect the social and economic conditions of the common people. Under these circumstances it is not possible to enunciate the view that the Maithila Brahmana scholars, enjoying the goodwill of Nanyadeva, could effectively do something against Nepalese Buddhism.

The Hindu kingdom of Mithila was situated on the main route between India and Tibet via Nepal. The archaeological remains, such as images of the deities, temple ruins of Simaramapattana are testimonies to the fanatic Brahmanical policy of Nanyadeva. The Buddhist pilgrims had to face difficulties in their daily life and regular movement around this region of eastern India which is evident from the itinerary of Dipankara Srijnana Atisa (A. D. 1040-1041)[4]. The decline of Pala dynasty of Bihar and Bengal snatched away the general facilities enjoyed by the Buddhists in this region. With the emergence of the Karnata-kshatriyas in north Bihar and the Senas in the eastern India, just after the decay of the Buddhist Palas, Brahmanical social institutions and religious observances were revived with fresh zeal. Consequently Nepal remained the only safe place for Buddhism. Buddhists of India and Tibet could get homely and warm treatment there. The Newari community of

1. Sanskrityayana, *Dohakosa* (Hindi), Appendix 6.
2. B. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. cxiii.
3. A. Mojumder, *The Caryapadas*, pp. xiv, 10-26.
4. S.C. Das, op. cit., p. 68; A. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 315-316.

Nepal was the sole custodian of this faith. Their mercantile activity and commercial enterprises facilitated them in creating an ideological bridge between India and Tibet. All streams and currents of Buddhism of this period flowed down in Nepal which led to a marvellous rapprochement of ideas in the fields of Buddhist religion, philosophy, fine art pertaining to music, popular lyrics, art designs in iconography, painting and temple architecture. However, underneath this panorama the situation of tension at its formative stage cannot be ruled out. The feudal character of society and polity in Nepal and north Bihar was emerging to its decisive shape of struggle. Political and social tensions were not going to spare their parallel religious currents.

CHAPTER VIII

A Tug-Of-War Between Hinduism And Buddhism In Nepal : A. D. 1140-1255

On account of revival of the study of *Mimansa* (मीमांसा), *Dharmasastra* (धर्मशास्त्र) and *Nyaya* (न्याय), the Saiva cult became popular at the cost of Buddhism in Mithila[1]. The Sena kings of Bengal and Bihar were patrons of Brahmanism. Vallalasena (A.D. 1158-1179) made important social reforms and revived orthodox Hindu rites[2]. He reorganised the caste system and introduced the practice of Kulinism among the Brahmanas, Vaidyas and Kayasthas and despatched many Brahmana experts for propagating Kulinism in Orissa, Bhutan, Chittagong, Arakan, Magadha and Nepal[3]. His son Lakshmanasena (A.D. 1179-1206) was also a devout Vaishnava (वैष्णव) although his predecessors were Saivas. Jayadeva, thh most famous poet of Bengal and Mithila lived in his court. It was because of these social changes that hypergamous matrimonial system of Bengal and Mithila was adopted by the Nepalese.

The Turkish invasion brought immeasurable plight for the Buddhists in the eastern Indian regions. Besides taking asylum in Nepal and many other Asian countries, a lage number of Buddhists was forced to join the society of the Brahmanas[4]. Such Buddhists as newly converted to Brahmanism formed a seot known as the Baul sect[5]. However, later the Baul order grew out of the amalgam of different cults and schools of Hindu and Buddhist tantric cults,

1. J. Ganguly; 'The Social and Religious Background of the study of Smriti in Mithila', *Our Cultural Heritage*, vol. iv, Pt., 1956, pp. 239-251.

2. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal*, vol. i, pp. 216, 354, 573, 581; D. C. Sircar, 'The Karnatas Outside Karnataka', *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, Calcutta, 1959, P. 213.

3. R. Mukherji and S. K. Maity, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1967, P. 35.

4. N. N. Vasu, op. cit., Intr,. pp. 14-15; Buddha Prakash, op. cit., pp. 215-216; H. P. Dwivedi, *Madhyayugina Dharmasadhna* (Hindi), p. 76.

5. S. Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 164-165.

Sahajiya Vaishnava (सहजिया वैष्णव) schools as well as Sufism[1]. The period under review marked by religious fermentation and syncretic tendencies resulting from contact, conflict and compromise of several major and minor religious systems including Islam was, therefore, extremely favourable for the growth of this syncretic religious cult[2]. Influence of the Buddhist *Siddhacharyas*, their catholic and simple teachings over emerging neo-Vaishnavism was so profound that the latter became an institution of sexual pleasure in the garb of Radha-Krishna (राधा-कृष्ण) union idealised literally as adulterous love (परकीया-प्रेम)[3].

Emotionally and ideologically living in close connection with India, Nepal could not remain passive towards significant changes taking place in eastern India. During the period of six decades preceding the Turkish invasion over eastern India, Buddhism in Nepal passed through a stage of the tug-of-war against Hindu revivalists. The political instability of the Nayakot Thakuris did permit neither Buddhism nor Brahmanism to make important headway[4], because these religious and social groups suffered from vital internal contradictions. It was the peak period of feudal formations and crystallisation in Indian society. Economic interests pertaining to land ownership were identical points of clash and social strains for Buddhists and Hindus. A parallel situation in Nepal cannot be ruled out. To this may he added large number of voluntary donations to Buddhist *viharas* and Hindu temples which had separate socio-political relations in Nepal. This material situation of Nepal indicates an expansion of trade and commerce activities with Tibet as is evident from some examples of the visits of Buddhists from Tibet to Nepal. In this train of religious visits of Tibetan Buddhists increasing internal trade and foreign trade formed sound ground.

1. K. K. Das Gupta, 'The Bauls and Pasupatas', *J. N. Banerjea Volume*, p. 341.

2. K. K. Dasgupta, op. cit.; S. Das Gupta, op. cit., pp. 157-187.

3. Buddha Prakash, op. cit., p. 307; V. V. Sastri, 'The Culture and Tradition of the Siddhas', *The Cultural Heritage of India*, vol. ii, Calcutta, 1962, p. 313; S. Das Gupta, op. cit., p. 166.

4. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 60; S. K. Saraswati, *PIHC*, 20th Session, 1958, pp. 142-143.

SECTION I

Work of Nepalese Buddhists

The Nepalese Buddhists during this period continued their contact with Tibet. They went on copying Buddhist texts on palm-leaves. Buddhist *viharas* became the *alma maters* of Nepalese Buddhists.

Conversion of King Manadeva (मानदेव) to Buddhism

On the basis of later *Vamsavalis* it has been stated that Manadeva (A. D. 1136-1140) retired to the monastery of Chakra-vihara (चक्रविहार) in Lalitapura[1]. Statistical examination of the nature of historical documents of his reign proves that he was a devout Buddhist monarch[2]. At the samc time it is also certain that this chakravihara was no other than present Mahabodhi (महाबोधी) shrine of Lalitapura

Visit of A Nepalese Bhikshuni (भिक्षुणी), Pushpa (पुष्पा) to Tibet

Pushpa has been referred to as Me Tong in Tibetan language.[3] She visited Tibet in A. D. 1168 after the death of a Tibetan Buddhist monk, Dampa Se-brag-pa (A. D. 1108-1168).[4] From her itinerary it is known that she had already visited Indian Buddhist places before she went to Tibet. She was well-versed in the Buddhist learning, because she has been called the Nepalese Yogini (योगिनी). When she reached Tibet a large crowd assembled with presents to receive her and all were eager to have her blessings. In this eonnection two Tibetan ladies, sTon-pa-Lha snan's mother and the wife of Ran-thang mkhanpo-po also approached her to get her blessings. Pushpa was gifted with an art of prediction, because she accused the wife of Ran-thang of the misuse of barley preserved by her husband, who had produced it with hard labour. She advised her to offer all hoarded barley, forty loads in measurement, to a Lama and also to hold a religious assembly. Finally she exhorted her to obey her husband Ran-thang for future happiness and prosperity. Pushpa

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 60
2. Ibid.
3. G. N. Roerich, op. cit., Part i, pp. 133-136;
4. Ibid.

consoled the mother of sTon-pa-Lha snan that she should not worry for the death of her brother, Dampa Se-brag-pa, who had already incarnated himself in the womb of an Indian queen.

The account shows that the Nepalese Buddhist monks and nuns were held in high esteem by the Tibetans.

Copying of Buddhist Scriptures in Nepal

Among the forty-four manuscripts copied during this period in Nepal (A.D. 1140-1188)[1] eighteen were Buddhist ones and the remainder were non-Buddhist belonging to different faiths. The *Pancharaksha* (पंचरक्षा) and the *Ashtasahasrikaprajnaparamita* (अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता) were popular scriptures among the Buddhist texts of Nepal. Other important Buddhist texts revered by the Nepalese Buddhists were the *Namasamgiti* (नामसंगीति), the *Chatushpithamandalopayikamantra* (चतुष्पीठमण्डलोपायिकामंत्र), the *Gandavyuha* (गण्डव्यूह), the *Prayaschitasamuchchaya* (प्रायश्चितसमुच्चय), the *Kurukullakalpa* (कुरुकुल्लाकल्प), the *Kalottaratantra* (कालोत्तरतंत्र), the *Dharmasamuchchaya* (धर्मसमुच्चय), the *Karandavyuha* (कारण्डव्यूह) etc. Most of the Tibetan manuscripts althongh composed during A.D. 750-1250 were later copied by the Nepalese Buddhists in the Nepalese Buddhist *viharas* during A.D. 1150-1400[2]. This habit of incessant copying of manuscripts in Nepal became the cause of library formations at many places.

Propagation of Buddhism Through the *Viharas*

As at present so in the past Nepal was famous for its Buddhist *Viharas*, *Chaityas* and innumerable specimens of art. Important Buddhist centres were the Svayambhu *chaitya*, Bodhanatha, Aryabhikshu Samgha, Yamgala *vihara*, Chakravihara, Yogha *vihara*, Chitravihara etc. Western Nepalologists like Giuseppe Tucci, D.L. Snellgrove, L. Petech have held these Buddhist monasteries in their works in high esteem. Significant part played by these monasteries was in the field of tantricism. Mahabodhi or Mahabauddha *vihara*

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 60-77.

2. The *Pramanavarttikabhashyam* (प्रमाणवार्त्तिकभाष्यम्), translated by R. Sankrityayana from the Tibetan into the Sanskrit and edited by A. S. Altekar, Patna, 1959.

had been the traditional centre of tantric Buddhist rituals. Secret Buddhist practices or worship known as the *Guhyapuja* (गुह्यपूजा) had always been performed at the Mahabauddha *vihara* of Lalitapura. These *viharas* were humming with intellectual activities of the Nepalese Buddhists. From this point of view the retirement of Manadeva to Chakravihara and his bold step indicated by his leading a life of Buddhist monk with other ones needs to be emphasised. Besides, Buddhism was on decline in eastern India. Nepal was the safest place of pilgrimage for the trans-Himalayan Buddhists. This was the period when the Tibetan Buddhists had got their hold over the Buddhist communities of Mangolia. They had popularised Lamaism in Mongolia. The Mongolian Buddhists had their eyes fixed on Lhasa where the head of the Lamaist sect was residing at Potala to bless them. Therefore, the Mongolian Buddhists were also attracted towards Nepal. Bodhanatha shrine was the main point of attraction for the Lamaist Buddhists. Tibetan Buddhists were already residing there in a large number. Thus Nepal became the safest place not only for the panic striken Indian Buddhists but also for the Lamaist Buddhists of Mongolia, China and Tibet. Nepal and Nepalese Buddhism emerged as new commercial and religious interests in Asia.

Development of Nepalese Buddhist Art.

For long time Nepalese artists distinguished themselves in the field of Buddhist iconography. Art and craft products of metal or wood had good markets in the trans-Himalayan regions. All non-Buddhist traits which entered Nepal with ideas and speculations were either transplanted in Nepalese society with many changes or themselves they lost into the surpassing originality of the Nepalese Buddhist art traditions[1]. The Buddhist iconography of Nepal was grafted on a Newari (नेवारी) style of many sources and character of its own[2]. Added to these art traditions of Nepal was Tibetan Buddhist art which unravelled a panorama of history. Art became

1. S. Bhowmik, 'Technical Study and Conservation of a Nepalese Metal Image Form the Baroda Museum', *JOI*, vol, xiii, No. 4, 1964, p. 393.

2. S. Kramrisch, 'Early Sculptures of Nepal', *PICO*, 26th Session, 1964, Supplement Copy, p. 25.

a direct vehicle of communication of ideas. Nudity developed into an aesthetic ideal of art. The artists took delight in presenting Buddhist deities in *Yab-Yum* (याब्-युम्) postures. Attainment of Buddhist spiritual ideals throngh sexual practices was approved by this art tradition.

A social analysis of the Buddhist art of this period shows that Nepalese Buddhist society had sufficient leisure for relishing luxurious ideals of life. High order of sophistication has been reflected in elaborate decoration of the panels of temple architecture of Nepal. Manifestation of nudity in presenting union of male and female Buddhist deities became favourite aesthetic ideal of the Buddhist artists of Nepal. Consequently the *Yab-Yum* pantheon became an urge in Nepal. It was patronised and developed with delight in the Nepalese society. However, the Nepalese society fond of this type of art was not the majority of the working class. It was the feudal society of landlord bourgeoisie and traders. The *Yab-Yum* pantheon of Nepal was the transplantation of the Tibetan nude patheon over the Nepalese one. It formed one of important items of trade commodities transacted by the Nepalese traders. Besides, clandestine trade of art materials between Nepal and Tibet or India and Nepal was also on rising tide during this period. A large number of Nepalese and Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts belonging to this period bear beautiful art designs in different colours depicted on every page of the work. This shows that not only the artisan class associated with stone craft or wood craft or metal craft but also the class of scribes was trained in art of painting, and sketching with delight.

SECTION II

Spread of Buddhism in West Nepal

Buddhism in Nepal flourished not only in the Kathmandu valley but also in other parts of the country. It was patronised by several non-Brahmanical social orders of Nepal. The Buddhist monks were veteran wanderers. In course of their wandering they established contacts with many hill tribes settled in interior parts of the country. These hill tribes were non-Brahmanas. They were treated as Anaryas (अनार्य) by the privileged Brahmanical social orders

living in the Kathmandu valley. Several anthropological investigations carried on India and Nepal have concluded that Buddhism became a favourite faith for those who were ill-treated by the Brahmanas or who had no place in the Dharmasastras. One of these hill tribes which came in limelight regarding its role in the history of Buddhism in Nepal was the Khasa (खास) or Khasiya (खासिया) tribe of west Nepal.

Emergence of the Khasa Tribe

Towards the end of the A. D. twelfth century, the Khasa tribe which had settled in west Nepal invaded the distant regions of Guge and Ladakh. The Khasa conquerors of Guge finally laid down the foundations of their capital towns at Simja and Sija situated to the north of Jumla in west Nepal[1].

The capital towns of Simja and Sija emerged as important centres of the Khasa tribe. The Khasas were professional warriors. Natually their chief, the Khasa ruler was compelled by the situation to adopt a policy of aggression against the neighbouring regions in order to engage the minds of the Khasa warriors. However, this process of occasional wars and invasions should not mean their disconnection with the normal agrarian life.

The society and polity of these Khasas had their roots in the system of production relations based on forced labour, bonded labour and feudal formations. The Jumla region cosisted of beautiful green valleys suitable for agriculture. Irrigation was facilitated by taming petty hilly rivers and falls coming down from the vast stock of snow of the Himalaya. There was no crisis of draught. Surplus agricultural products led to the development of trade and barter with other tribes. Distant trade activities were carried on. Simja and Sija merchants travelled as far as Vajrasana (Bodhagaya) via Kathmandu valley, Simaramapattana, Svetapura, Pataliputra and Rajagriha. This region of west Nepal was also known for its busy trade routes leading to Lhasa (Tibet). The Tibetan Buddhists freqently passed throngh them. Indian Buddhists also touched this area in course of their journey to Tibet.

1. G. Tucci, *Preliminary Report on Two Scientific Expeditions in Nepal*, 1956, Rome, p. 129.

Reflection Of Buddhism In Dullu Steles

Archaeological evidences are the testimonies to the flourishing conditions of Buddhism in the Khasa area. The cult of Avolokitesvara (अवलोकितेश्वर) and the famous line ef the tantric Buddhist cult *Om Mani Padme Hum* (ओम् मणि पद्मे हुँ) are clearly visible in these remains[1]. Its closeness to the Tibetan region facilitated a fertile ground for the propagation of Lamaism. Consequently a synthesis of Vajrayana Buddhism and Lamaism flourished among the Khasa tribes. The Dullu steles reflect the characteristic features of Buddhism. Buddhism was not only a civilising agent for this region, but also a medium or ideological standard for the manifestation of social status for the Khasa leaders. D. L. Snellgrove, in his work entitled *Himalayan Pilgrimage*[2] has presented an interesting anthropological and sociological survey of the Khasa tribe.

The Visit Of Asoka, The Khasiya King To Vajrasana

Influence of Buddhism over Khasa tribe is reflected from an acconnt of a Khasa king, who felt delight in being named as Asoka[3]. Certainly it was an emulation of the well-known Mauryan emperor Asoka, who immortalised his name for his achievements in the field of Buddhism. The Khasiya king, Asoka visited Vajrasana (वज्रासन) at Bodhagaya and made donation to the Bodhi tree. In this connection he may have visited other Buddhist shrines near it and have paid his respects to Rajagriha, Kusinagara and Lumbini, which occur in the way leading to Vajrasana or in return journey to the Khasa territory.

It is important to mention that the Khasa leaders adopted "Malla" as their surname. This indicates their previous contacts with the republican tribes of eastern India, such as the Lichchhavis and the Mallas, who were finally crushed and compelled by Samudragupta in course of his imperial conquests. There is no wonder if the Mallas of Tirabhukti or north Bihar fled away to western Nepalese region and joined the unfortunate company of other Malla

1. G. Tucci, *Nepal, The Discovery of the Malla*, Rome, 1962, p. 62
2. London, 1961.
3. G. Tucci, op. cit., p, 62.

leaders ousted from Kusinagara area. Professor Tucci, out of the reading of several Dullu steles, has come to similar conclusion in course of assigning the title of "Malla" to the Khasa leaders, who, later on established a dynasty of the western Mallas in Nepal. The eastern Malla dynasty, naturally symbolised the Malla dynasty of the valley of Kathmandu.

The western Mallas ruled this area with enthusiasm and cultivated their original religious faith sincerely. Their presence in western Nepal became fruitful for the Buddhist culture. Buddhism got a new lease of life and survival under them.

SECTION III

Brahmanical Revival in Indo-Nepalese Border

The period, which witnessed an ascendant prosperity of Buddhism in western Nepal under the Mallas or the Khasa leaders, also brought reverses for Buddhism around the Indo-Nepalese border regions, where the Karnatas ruled with their social and religious obligations to Brahmanism and the *Dharmasastras*. The phenomenon of Brahmanical revival may be inferred from the Dekuli image of Laheriasarai (an integral part of the present district head-quarter and main town of Darbhanga), called the temple of Sivavarddhamanesvara (शिववर्द्धमानेश्वर), constructed by one Varddhamana (वर्द्धमान), an employee of Malladeva, about whom no sufficient account is available to us[1]. The Karnata king Gangadeva (A.D. 1147-1187), who succeeded Nanyadeva, helped the cause of Brahmanical revival by appointing Dharmadhikaranikas (धर्माधिकरणिक), who worked for the welfare of the Brahmanas and maintenance of the orders of the *Varna* system. However, the main currents of the Nepalese history dealing with the activities of the Mallas of Lalitapura (Kathmandu valley) do not present pro-Brahmanical picture of the religious condition. The Mallas were tolerant rulers and had commendable behaviours for the Newaris, the Buddhist section of the Nepalese society. Besides, the last king of the Nayakot Thakuris, Somesvaradeva

1. *ABORI*, vol. xxxv, 1954. pp. 100-101.

(A. D. 1179-1185)[1] erected a magnificent wooden structure on the famous temple of the Yogha vihara[2], The temple of Yogha vihara was no other than the present Mahabauddha temple of Lalitapura. It was the famous centre of Buddhism for performing tantric practices. Therefore, the spirit of the Brahmanical revival was limited to the Karnata region only. Its echoes reached the valley of Kathmandu but with non-political enthusiasm. The Brahmanical scholars, classical musicians and Hindu saints enjoying the favours of the Karnata rulers visited the valley of Kathmandu. But they did not influence the deep-rooted Buddhist traditions of Nepal to the extent of calamities for the lot of Buddhism. Main reason behind the strong ideological foundation of Nepalese Buddhism was the socio-economic stability of the Buddhist monasteries supported enthusiastically by business magnets, landlords and other vested interests of the Nepalese society. This class was an asset to the financial strength of Nepalese ruling dynasties.

The political condition of Nepal during this period was also favourable to the self-sufficient economy of the Buddhist society. After Somesvaradeva a period of chaos started in the history of Nepal. Short lived kings emerged on the scene. The period of fifteen years from A.D. 1185 to A.D. 1200 is important in the history of Nepal for an investigation and rewriting of religious account of the country. During this period great events took place in eastern India because of the Turkish invasions.

SECTION IV

Nepal Emerges as the Asylum for the Fugitive Buddhists from India : A. D. 1200-1255

Socio-political Conditions of North India :

Nepalese Buddhism had close connection with north Indian regions. Changes taking place from time to time in these regions influenced the situations in Nepal. A survey of these regions during the period from A. D. 1200 to A. D. 1255 throws light on the

1. S.K. Saraswati, 'Somesvaradeva, a king of Nepal', *PIHC*, 20th Session, 1957, pp. 142-143.
2. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 71.

disturbed socio-religious situations. Weak rulers, lack of internal unity, sectarian prejudices in social and religious organisations were well-known reasons working behind a disintegrated image.

The second Lohara dynasty came to an end because of the death of its last ruler Vantideva (A. D. 1164-1171)[1]. Invasions and successful conquests of Muhammad Ghori exposed the rivalries and jealousies of the Rajput leaders of north India. Delhi, the symbol of the central administration of India fell to the wish of Muhammad Ghori. The battles of Tarain in A. D. 1191 and A. D. 1192 were landmarks in this connection. A panic overran the head and heart of the people of north India. The condition of north Bihar was not better than other western regions of north India. The Karnata king Narasimhadeva (A. D. 1188-1227)[2] was a weak personality. The Pala dynasly was no more on the scene. The Sena king Lakshmanasena (A. D. 1179-1206)[3] was also not strong enough to defend his realm from the onslaughts of external invasions and internal disunity.

Reflection of Evils of Feudalism over Buddhist Monastic Establishments of Eastern India :

The basic characteristics of this period in Indian history, in the opinions of scholars of Indology[4] had been evils of feudalism. Production relations during this period led to the hoarding of wealth under individual landlords or socio-religious organisations. Least care was taken to invest wealth in public welfare. Buddhist monasteries had become big centres of wealth. Monks and nuns in the monasteries were leading luxurious life. A social analysis of the art, sculpture and architectural designs of the monasteries of the period reveal the immoral ways of daily life led by the feudal lords and their religious lackeys in Buddhist monasteries. In the garb of esoteric or tantric practices, in fact, sexual pleasures were enjoyed by the Buddhists

1. P.N.K. Bamzai, *A History of Kashmir*, 1962, Delhi, p. 153; R.C. Mljumdar (ed.), *The Struggle For Empire*, 1966, Bombay, p. 101.

2. A*BORI*, op. cit., pp. 107-110.

3. R.C. Majumdar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, vol. i, pp. 171, 231

4. J. N. Samaddar, *The Glories of Magadha*, 1924, 2nd ed., 1927, Patna, pp. 163 164; R. Thapar, *A History of India*, vol. i, 1966, Harmondsworth, pp. 241-265;. R. S. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*,1965, Calcutta, pp. 156-158.

in northern and eastern India. Under these circumstances, the Turkish invaders concentrated their eyes over these regions where rich Buddhist monastic establishments of Nalanda, Udyantapuri (उड्यन्तपुरी), Vikramasila, Jagattala (at present in Bangladesh) were flourishing with reputation. Buddhist monastic heads related to agricultural activities spared no means in extortion of wealth or produce from the petty peasant labourers.

The Muslim Invasion of Eastern India

About A. D. 1200 Bakhtyar Khilji made an attack over these Buddhist pontifical establishments.[1] This invasion was organised by one of the crowd of Khilji adventurers, who separated themselves from their tribe settled in Garasmir.[2] By dint of his merit, after having taken several risks in his life, he shone himself in India under the service of Malik Qutbuddin Aibak. He was a man of valour and intrepidity. He made frequent incursions into the territory of Maner and Bihar which paved the way for his bold and impetuous attack on the fortified University town (*Hisar-i-Bihar*) of Bihar in A. D. 1199. After having plundered the Hindu territory for a year or two, he made a sudden dash for the fortress of Bihar, captured it by forcing its postern gate and put to the sword all its inhabitants, most of whom were shaven headed monks possessing much wealth and books.[1] It was at this stage that the name Bihar was coined by the invaders, because the Muslims learnt that the places which they plundered were the *Viharas* or *madrasas*. He led his army a second time in the direction of Bihar in the year following the sack of the fortified monastery of that name. This year, i.e, A. D. 1200, he was busy consolidating his hold over that province, as the author of Riyaz-us-salatin says, by establishing *thanas* or military

1. R. C. Dutt, *Civilisation of India*, 1900, London, p. 84; H.P. Sastri, Intr., op. cit., p. 84; S. C. Vidyabhusana, op. cit., p. 350; C. Elliot, op. cit., pp. 112-113; H. C. Ray, op. cit., p. 198 ; J. N. Samaddar, op. cit., pp. 163, 164; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., pp. 210-212 : H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *History of India*, vol. ii, Allahabad, pp. 305-309 ; J. Sarkar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, vol. ii, 1948, Dacca, pp. 1-9.

2. J. Sarkar (ed.), op. cit., p. 1.

outposts and by introducing administrative arrangements.[1] He brought the different parts of the territory under his sway and instituted therein, in every part, the reading of the *Khutba* and the coining of money and through his praiseworthy endeavours and of his Amirs, Masjids, colleges, and monasteries were founded in those parts.

The devastation created by Bakhtyar Khilji was of an unusual character. It has been stated that just as Baghdad, the abode of learning, the seat of culture, the eye and centre of the Saracenic world, was ruined for ever, so were Vikramasila and Odandapura, the seats and centres of Buddhistic world and culture, destroyed for ever, and with their downfall was sounded the death-knell of Buddhism in India and for some centuries the gloom of night fell on Eastern India.[2] Consequently the panicky Buddhists left the monasteries of Vikramasila and Odantapuri and fled away to different parts of India and to neighbouring countries outside and overseas. The learned Sakyasri went to Orissa and afterwards to Tibet; Ratnarakshita to Nepal; Buddhamitra and others sought a refuge in south India, whilst Samgama Srijnana with several of his followers betook themselves to Burma, Camboja, etc. And thus the law of Buddha became extinct in Magadha. Many emigrants from Magadha rejoined their brethren in the South and founded colleges on a modest scale in Vijayanagara, Kalinga and Konkan. The comparatively satisfactory condition of Buddhism in the Deccan about that time is attested by the rich donations to the monastery at Dambal.[3] The campaigns of Bakhtyar Khilji brought panic also among the Buddhist centres of Bengal such as the monasteries of Jagaddala (at present in Bangladesh), from where several Buddhist monks fled to Nepal.[1] Ravisribhadra, Chandragupta and the remaining sixteen *mahantas* (monastic heads), and two hundred small pandits went further to Pukham, Munjam (both in Burma), Kamboja

1. J. Sarkar, op. cit., p. 3.
2. Ibid.
3. J. N. Samaddar, op. cit., p. 165; H. C. Ray, op.,cit., 198; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 214 ; S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, 1962, London, p. 32.

to the east and other lands, in Magadha the creed was almost extinguished.[1]

Decline of Buddhism in Eastern India

A general view is that Buddhism in India received its death blow because of the Muhammadan invasions. However, it was not the only cause. There were other causes as well. Indian Buddhism at that time was not the Buddhism of Asoka. It was tantricism, worshipping of female energy in conjugation with male energy. It had degenerated from its philosophical and speculative height to demonology. It was a curious admixture of alchemical processes on the one hand, and grotesque and obscure rites on the other. It is well-known that the Indian life in all its aspects, social, political and intellectual, had been at all times under the mighty sway of religion[2]. The *Siddhacharyas* had considerably lowered down social status of Buddhism by their oversimplified interpretations of the *Charyagitas* and *Dohas*. In the name of tantric practices and search of *Mahasukha* (महासुख), the supreme bliss involved in complex sexo-yogic practices they actually indulged in sexual relations with the female members of the lower social orders of the society. This greatly hampered the ethical values of *Mahayana* or *Vajrayana* sects of Buddhism. Consequently a large number of the Buddhist monks suffered defection and joined other non-Buddhist sects.

Nepalese Buddhism and Fugitive Buddhists from India :

Mass migration of Buddhists ousted by the Turkish invasions ushered in an era of progress and fresh lease of life for Buddhism in Nepal. Nepal is hill-locked country. It remained intact from the Turkish onslaughts. Buddhist monks and communities of the eastern Indian regions soon followed the famous routes leading to Nepal and Tibet. Nepal became an abode of the fugitive Indian

1. H. Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism* p. 133; H. D. Sankalia, op. cit., p. 214; R. C. Mitra, *The Decline of Buddhism in India*, 1954, Calcutta, p. 93; S. Dutt, op. cit.; P. Thomas, *Colonists and Foreign Missionaries of Ancient India*, Intr. p. 5.

2. S. Dutt, op. cit., pp. 351, 379.

Buddhists[1]. Nepalese Buddhists extended their warm welcome to these fugitive Buddhists.

Nepal was immensely benefited by these migrant Indian Buddhists. Many craftsmen and artists also followed the caravan of Indian Buddhists to Nepal[2]. These Buddhists had good collections of Buddhist manuscripts with them. Buddhist manuscripts were carried by them to Nepal[3]. The artists and craftsmen carried away art designs and skills with them[4] to the land of Svayambhu and Bodhanatha. Streets of Nepal were humming again with crowds of Buddhist monks and scholars. A period of fair exchange of ideas and beliefs was inaugurated by this event. Buddhists coming from northern Buddhist countries to visit Nepalese Buddhist shrines mixed with Indian Buddhists. An unprecedented incident took place in Nepal where Buddhist intellectuals and common-folk met neck-to-neck. Two extremes of Asia came to dine and discuss at the same table. In this way Nepal played the unique role of a cultural buffer unit between India and Nepal.

In the light of this unique Buddhist panorama in Nepal there is no room for the view that the main features of the original monastic settlement totally disappeared by the thirteenth century A.D. The monastic order suffered cultural sterility owing to the metamorphosis sustained by it because of the Saiva reformers, who bluntly subjected the priests to the rigid influence of caste and

1. N. N. Vasu, op. cit., p. 119; R. Sankrityayana, *Buddhacharyya* (Hindi), p. 14; N. R. Ray, op. cit., p. 76; B. Bhattacharyya, 'The Home of Tantric Buddhism', *B. C. Law Volume*, 1945, Calcutta, p. 357; V. V. Gokhale, 'Expansion of Buddhism in Northern countries : Tibet, Ladakh and Mongolia', *2500 Years of Buddhism*, edited by P. V. Bapat, pp. 82-83; P. V. Bapat, *Inaugural Address of Buddhist Studies in the University of Delhi*, 21st Oct. 1957, S. Dutt, op. cit., pp. 32, 351, 379.

2. S. Bhowmik, 'Technical Study and Conservation of a Nepalese Metal Image from the Baroda Museum', *JOI*, vol. xiii, No. 4, 1964, p. 393.

3. H. Sastri, 'Search for Sanskrit Mss', *JBORS*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 65; N. N. Vasu, op. cit., p. 119; B. Bhattacharyya, op. cit., p. 357; V. V. Gokhale, op. cit. pp. 83-84; P. V. Bapat, op. cit.; S. Dutt, op. cit.; E. Coure, *Buddhist Scriptures*, 1959, London, p. 24.

4. V. S. Agrawala, 'Greater India', *Archaeology in India*. 1950, New Delhi, p, 203.

marriage[1]. As a matter of fact, the reformers who were active for the spread of the Saiva cult were not so forceful in the valley of Nepal as in the border regions of India and Nepal under the Karnatas of Mithila. The Saivas were the court laureates of the Karnatas of Mithila. They spent their maximum time in the terai belt of Nepal.

During the A. D. tewelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nepal developed close relations with the western parts of Tibet. Nepalese Buddhism and Buddhist monk-scholars were popular in that region. They had regular connections with the Buddhist centres lying in northern India, such as the areas of Ladakh. These regions also had the repercussions of the Turkish onslaughts. The Buddhist monks of these regions also became restless and fled to Nepal.

Vibhutichandra, a young scholar from Vikramasila followed his teacher Sakyasribhadra up to Jagaddala. Later, after the destruction of that *vihara* they fled to Nepal[2]. While they fled to Nepal a Buddhist scholar from Jagaddala, named Danasila followed them and went together to Tibet in A.D. 1203[3]. Vibhutichandra, however, could not bear the effects of extreme climate and conditions of Tibet and came back to Nepal[4].

Emergence of Nepal as the Custodian of the Buddhist Scriptures :

The use of paper was common in Tibet during this period. Mnay Indian Buddhist monks and scholars got opportunities to use it[5]. Art of paper-making came to India from Nepal during the period A.D. 1000 when it had already attained its technical excellence in Nepal[6]. But the fashion of using palmleaves for copying and writing Buddhist scriptures was preferred. These leaves were imported to Nepal from India[7]. This is evident from the vast storage of Buddhist palm-leaf manuscripts in Nepal and Tibet.

1. D. R. Regmi, *Ancient Nepal*, p. 46.
2. R. Sankrityayana, 'Sanskrit Palm Leaf Mss. in Tibet', *JBORS*, vol. xxiii, 1937, pp. 11-14.
3. Ibid.; S. Dutt, op. cit., pp. 351. 379.
4. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit., *JBORS*, vol. xxxiii, pp. 13-14.
5. Ibid.
6. P. C. Roy, op. cit., p. 235.
7. R. Sankrityayana, op. cit.. 14

Nepal became the storehouse of Buddhist literature. Majority of Indian Buddhists, who fled to Nepal, stayed with lay Buddhist followers of that country, because the Buddhist monasteries were already packed up with the earlier migrant Buddhist teachers. This is evident from the fact that in Nepal, even to-day collections of Buddhist palm-leaf mnuscripts are preserved with lay Buddhists, called the Newaris.

The time when Indian Buddhists took shelter in Nepal was equally hard for the general Nepalese people. The feudal character of the Nepalese society and polity had already reduced the people to the status of a characteristic serfdom. Buddhism in Nepal during this period was serving the interests of the landlord bourgeoisie class and the emergent business community. Many features of Brahmanical religion had parallel characteristics in Buddhist religion of the period. At least one class of the Buddhist priests known as *Gubhajus* (गुभाजु), may be examined in this connection. *Gubhajus* performed all Brahmanical rites start from the birth of a child to the death of a man and used Buddhist texts in serving their interests. They were well-organised Buddhist institution of priesthood. No doubt, these changes occurred in Nepalese Buddhism for competing with rising tide of Brahmanism in Nepal and to maintain its preponderant social and economic existence in Nepalese society. Certainly, as a civilising agent Nepalese Buddhism emerged as a worthy religious force so far as the social backwardness of a large number of hill tribes is concerned. But the economic exploitation carried on by the Gubhaju priests for safeguarding the feudal character of Nepalese society and polity cannot be ruled out. Under this complex socio-religious Nepalese phenomenon Indian Buddhists got a congenial ground for their survival.

Nepalese Buddhist monasteries and some private arrangements were there to accommodate the fugitive Indian Buddhists. But the large number of migrant Indian Buddhists could not get shelter in recognised monastic establishments. They had to support their stay with their own possessions. They had to sell their scriptures, manuscripts and antiquities which they had carried for their personal

use. Buddhist monks, scholars, artists including metal workers, experts of iconography, painters, musicians pertaining to the *Charyagitas* and *Dohas* followed their normal life in Nepal. They also visited interior hilly regions for having contacts with the tribal people residing in snow clad mountains and valleys. Like the Lamaist Buddhist institution Indlan Buddhism travelled and left its impact on the life and society of the tribal people of Nepal. The tribal people, who were passing through a phase of ignorance and negligence because of a social isolation from the main currents of the history of Nepal for a long time, first of all exprienced a life of salvation and moral liberation under the proselytising zeal of Indian Buddhists during this period. Indian Buddhists, in this way, fully adjusted with the Nepalese people and Buddhism prospered to its great magnitude.

Historical records of Nepal indicate an occurence of severe famine at the end of the reign period of Arimalla (A. D. 1200-1216)[1]. A large number of people died out of starvation. In the wake of this calamity migrant Indian Buddhists also died in large number. Their all belongings, naturally, were claimed by their hosts or host monastic establishments. This opportunity led to the accumulation of manuscripts and Buddhist antiquities on huge scale which enriched Nepalese Buddhism with valuable cultural wealth. It was during this period that Nepal became the storehouse of Buddhist literature and other Sanskrit works. Profession of copying the Sanskrit works of different characters was popular in Nepal. Almost all Buddhist followers were eager to possess Buddhist manuscripts which were symbols of upper or enlightened social status. Besides, on many social occosions the followers of Nepalese Buddhism were in habit of getting copies of Buddhist scriptures transliterated in Newari or Tibetan languages for their self complacent devotion to it. Consequently, a conscionsness of library in private possession came to reality. The Nepalese Buddhist literature, may therefore, be determined to have accumulated in the following ways :

(i) Buddhist literature composed by the Nepalese Buddhist

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 85.

monks in order to have ready references to Buddhist worship in the *viharas*;

(ii) Buddhhist literature copied by the monks for their personal use;

(iii) Buddhist scriptures copied by the monks for enriching the libraries or collection of manuscripts in recognised Buddhist Samghas, the names of which frequently occur in the inscriptions of Nepal,

(iv) Buddhist scriptures copied under the inspiration of followers of Nepalese Buddhism and preserved with private persons;

(v) Buddhist scriptures originally composed or copied by the Indian Buddhists during their asylum period and claimed by their host institutions or followers after their demise;

(vi) Buddhist scriptures or literature carried to Nepal by the fugitive Indian Buddhists during the period of the Turkish invasions in the eastern Indian regions;

(vii) Buddhist literature carried to Nepal by the Tibetan Buddhists either in original forms or copies from Lhasa.

All big *viharas* possessed good collection of books. Among them the famous *Navavyakarana* (नवव्याकरण), a collection or set of nine books, namely, *Ashtasahasrikaprajnaparamita* (अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता), *Lalitavistara* (ललितविस्तर), *Lankavatara* (लंकावतार), *Saddharmapundarika* (सद्धर्मपुण्डरीक), *Suvarnaprabhasa* (सुवर्णप्रभास), *Gandavyuha* (गण्डव्यूह), *Tathagataguhyaka* (तथागतगुह्यक), *Samadhiraja* (समाधिराज) and, *Dasabhumika* (दशभूमिका) was common. Besides these nine books, the text of *Pancharaksha* (पञ्चरक्षा), was revered by all Buddhist adherents of Nepal and Tibet. It was during this period that Nepalese Buddhism assumed several characteristic features. The flowering of the Buddhist art and architecture also took place during this period under the collaboration of the fugitive Indian Buddhist monks. Nepal became an abode of Buddhist learning and art for northern Buddhist regions.

The Buddhist viharas such as Svayambhu chaitya, Tham vihara, Bodhanatha, Mahabauddha vihara, Charumati vihara played the same role in Nepal and for northern Buddhists what the monastic establishments could play in Magadha and eastern India before the Turkish invasions. Among these Nepalese viharas, the Charumati vihara deserves a special mention, because it was founded by Charumati, the daughter of Asoka, the famous Mauryan Emperor of ancient India.

It is said that Charumati had gone to Nepal in course of propagating the *Dharma* of Asoka. She married a Nepalese nobleman, named, Devapala.[1] The wife and husband built two Buddhist monasteries and in old age lived there as nun and monk. At present the Charumati vihara area is called Chavel (चावेल).

In the light of this situation of Nepalese Buddhism the influence of the Karnata rulers in the heart of Nepal is unimaginable during the period under review. In fact, the Karnatas, in north Bihar were passing through a crisis. Narasimhadeva (A. D. 1188-1227)[2], was panic-stricken because of the Turkish invasions over eastern India. Neighbouring rulers were equally formidable for his existence. Under this indecisive political condition the Karnata ruler had to withdraw his interest from the main current of the Nepalese cultural activities of Kantipura (कांतिपुर), i. e. Kathmandu valley. Thus the question of the serious attention or interest of the Karnatas in social, political or religious activities of Nepal for long period does not arise at all.

Nepalese Buddhism was advancing unhindered by any parallel religious force during this period. If there was any tension, it was in a pleasant competitive disposition for which the neo-Buddhists had already become conscious.

An account of Nepalese Buddhism has been elaborately furnished

1. R. C. Majumdar, 'Knowing Nepal Better', *Organiser* (Dipavali Number), 1967, p. 23.

2. *ABORI*, vol. xxxv, p. 107-110

by a Tibetan Buddhist monk, Dharmasvamin (A. D. 1197-1265)[1]. Dharmasvamin visited Nepal and styed there for eight years (A. D. 1226-1234), in the beginning and one year (A.D. 1236), later when he was returning to Tebet after his pilgrimage to Indian Buddhist centres. About two years period was spent by him in India.

SECTION V

Visit Of Dharmasvamin To Nepal : A.D. 1226-1234, 1236

Life Of Dharmasvamin Before His Visit To Nepal : A.D. 1197-1226

The Tibetan name of Dharmasvamin was Chag lo-tsa-ba Chos-rje-dpal. Some important pieces of information of his life are also scattered in *The Blue Annals*, edited and translated by George N. Roerich[2]. The name Dharmasvamin has been rendered from the original Tibetan term by the late Professor A.S. Altekar.

Dharmasvamin was born in A.D. 1197. He learned during his early youth under the guidance of his uncle Chag dGra-beom (A.D. 1153-1216). His uncle had been the desciple of a learned Buddhist monk scholar, sTens-pa lo-tsa-ba Tshul-krims-'byum gnas (A.D. 1107-1190), who had detailed knowledge of Buddhist religion of India and Nepal. Under this background Dharmasvamin developed a genuine interest about Indian and Nepalese Buddhism. He spent the beginning years of his life before A.D. 1226 in the Tsan province of Tibet. There he knew about the fugitive Indian Buddhists enjoying asylum in Nepal which had become the epicentre of the Buddhist culture.

Dharmasvamin's visit to Nepal : A. D. 1226-1234

Dharmasvamin came to Nepal in A. D. 1226. In the beginning he stayed with an innkeeper. Soon he went to Ratnarakshita, who

1. Chos-dar. *Biography of Dharmasvamin*, deciphered and translated by G. Roerich, with a historical and critical Introduction by A.S. Altekar (Gen. ed.), K.P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna, 1959. Another title of this book is the *Guru-vagvimalavalinama* (गुरुवाग्विमलावलिनाम) (Ibid., Ch. I, p. 47).

2. Fisrt Edition, Calcutta, 1949, Second Edition, Delhi, 1976, pp. 1047-1048, 1056-1059.

was staying at Svayambhu Chaitya as its resident *Mahasthavira* (महास्थविर). Certainly he was the same Ratnarakshita who had taken asylum in Nepal during the Turkish invasion[1]. Ratnarakshita was in limelight of the Buddhist world of the day.

Dharmasvamin presented a *Vajraghanta* (वज्रघंटा), to Ratnarakshita as a mark of his respect to him. He also saw three hundred similar *Vajraghantas* lying with Ratnarakshita which may indicate that Ratnarakshita had initiated three hundred Tibetans. Dharmasvamin met six other Tibetans, who were waiting upon Ratnarakshita for his initiation. He also came into contact with another Indian Buddhist monk-scholar, named Ravindra, who was living adjacent to Ratnarakshita at Svayambhu.

Ratnarakshita and Ravindradeva were holding two different schools of Buddhism. Ratnarakshita was the scholar of tantric Buddhism and had specialised in the teachings of *Guhyasamaja* (गुह्यसमाज), according to the method of Nagarjuna. Upasaka mahapandita (उपासक महापण्डित), Ravindradeva had specialised in the teachings of the *Vajravali-nama-mandalasadhana* (वज्रावलिनाममण्डलसाधना), the *Sutratantrakalpasamgraha* (सूत्रतंत्रकल्पसंग्रह). Dharmasvamin took advantages of their teachings. He studied the *Pitakas* under other Buddhist scholars in Nepal. Ultimately he established his faith in non-tantric aspects of Buddhism. He was fond of Nagarjuna's *Ratnavali* (रत्नावलि). His erudition in Indology of the period was confirmed by his mastery over the interpretation of the doctrine of *Chakrasamvara* (चक्रसंवर) concerning the thirteen Buddhist deities based on the teachings of Ratnarakshita. It was because of these unique intellectual achievements in Nepal that Dharmasvamin was requested to act as an interpreter at the Svayambhu Chaitya.

Some Important Nepalese Buddhist Shrines :

Account of Dharmasvamin has furnished important and least known pieces of information about Buddhist festivals, places and deities of Nepal. The Svayambhu Chaitya had been famous among the Tibetans as 'Phags-pa Sin-ku and adjacent to it was a monastery,

1. H. Kern, op. cit., p. 133.

known as the Chos-gshi. His *Guru* Ratnarakshita had erected several holy images round an important site for the consecration ceremony. It was the same spot where the Buddhist trio during the A. D. eighth century and Dipankara Srijnana Atisa during the A. D. eleventh century were received by the Nepalese Buddhists.

Tham Vihara

Tham vihara was founded by Dipankara Srijnana Atisa during A. D. 1040-1041. Dharmasvamin visited this Buddhist monastery and saw a golden image of Sakyamuni (the Buddha), erected in front of it. That time this image was popular as the lord Abhayadana (अभयदान). Tham vihara was also known as the Dharmadhatu vihara (धर्मधातु विहार), among the Indian Buddhists residing in Nepal. Tham vihara posessed a costly throne for the use of the head monk of the place. It was decorated with pearls for which eighty ounces of natural gold were used besides other valuable ornaments. Dipankara Srijnana Atisa had started a charitable fund for feeding the children, the poor and invalid persons at the Tham vihara. But this charity had been discontinued by the time of visit of Dharmasvamin to this monastery. Certainly it was discontinued because of natural calamities and onrush of the fugitive Indian Budbhists to Nepal.

At present this Tham vihara is known as Simhasarthavahu vihara (सिंहसार्थवाहु विहार). It is situated at a poiut south-west to the Keshar Mahal. The locality is called Thamel (ठमेल) and, the Newaris have abbreviated the name of this vihara and call it Than Vahi (ठँ वही). In fact it means upper vihara, a monastery situated at higher altitude. It forms an important point in determining the Buddhist geography of the valley of Kathmandu.

Chariot Procession of Aryavalokitesvara (आर्यालोकितेश्वर)

Dharmasvamin during his stay in Nepal witnessed a panoramic Buddhist festival celebrated in the honour of Aryalokitesvara, an incarnation of the Buddha. Local Nepalese Buddhists called it the Matsyendrayatra (मत्स्येन्द्रयात्रा), because it had its connection also with the Rato Matsyendra (रातो मत्स्येन्द्र), the red Matsyendra. Rato Matsyendra is obviously an incorrect name of the Rakta Matsyendra (रक्त मत्स्येन्द्र), because the image is painted in red vermillion

paint. The imge made of red sandal wood in the form a five year old boy was taken out of the temple of Bu-Kham (Bungmati) vihara situated in Lalitapura on the eighth day of the middle autumn month. The Buddhist communities, the people as a whole and the royal staff of the king of Nepal participated in its celebration with equal enthusiasm. People adhering to Nepalese Buddhism came from interior hilly regions to make the occasion a success. The young tantrics called the handu (हाण्डू), in Tibetan language used to wave fly-wisks amidst sounds of several musical instruments. The people offered sacrificial materials such as curd, milk, raw sugar, honey etc., to the idol of the Buddha. For a complete month the valley of Kantipura i.e. Kathmandu was converted to an exhibition show. During his stay of eight years, every year Dharmasvamin witnessed this festival in the valley.

On the occasion of the Matsyendrayatra important persons of the town used to receive the idol in procession at their doors and made special offers to it. The child incarnation of the Buddha taken out in the procession shows an influence of the Indian Bhakti movement in which the child incarnation of Rama or Krishna had got priority known as the *Vatsalyabhava* (वात्सल्यभाव) in worhip.

However, this Buddhist festival celebrated on huge scale should not mean an objective and isolated phenomenon in the Nepalese society of the period. Sociological analysis of this religious panorama shows that it reflected the interests of the exploiting classes. It was a type of social and religious cousciousness equally inherent in the exploiters and exploited. It reflected not the special position of the rich Buddhists, or the royalists or the poor hilly people. On the contrary it reflected the antagonistic character of the social relationships, the domination of the spontaneous forces of the social deveopment over all people. This does not mean that this festival was above class character. It was a justification for the protection of the privileged position of the rich Nepalese Buddhists and in case of the poor and innocent, a specific means of psychological enslavement of the working people coming from remote hilly villages. They had no means for their social

emancipation. Naturally they professed this general Buddhist festival, because it appealed them as the convenient vehicle for realisation of their social equality. In feudal society religion accomplished this role uniformly all over the world. A study of material conditions working in the background of religion reveals similar interests. Trading and commercial Buddhist communities of Nepal were under total subordination of the feudal system of Nepal owned by landlords, marshalling feudatories and several dynastic rulers of the country. Enlightenment under this situation was really out of question in presence of feudal ascendancy in India and Tibet, on both sides of the country.

Dharmasvamin's Disinterest in Nepalese King

In course of his description of Buddhist world of Nepal Dharmasvamin does not mention about the political personalities. On the other hand he has made an interesting mention of the panicky Karnata king of Simraon or Tirhut. Certainly it was because of his Buddhistic bias or Brahmanistic disinterest of the ruling dynasty in Nepalese Buddhism that neither of them could take interest in other's presence. This type of deliberate omission and commission is not, however, new. Specially in case of the Tibetan travllers this sort of carelessness is found. They do not carry or cherish that sense of furnishing meticulous and elaborate descriptions of itineary what the Chinese travellers practised with sincerity and delight despite the dangers of history in their way.

During the period Dharmasvamin visited Nepal, Abhayamalla (A. D. 1216-1255), was in power[1]. He was an active monarch of the valley and met the challenges of the Khasiya chief of Dullu of west Nepal. He has been also credited with an authorship of a devotional work, *Amritesvarapuja* (अमृतेश्वरपूजा)[3].

Dharmasvamin's Visit to India : A. D. 1234-1236

Dharmasvamin left Nepal in A. D. 1234 for his visit to Indian Buddhist places. During his stay of eight years in Nepal he left

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 85-91.
2. Ibid., p. 194.
3. Ibid., p. 89.

nothing unturned in acquainting himself with Indo-Nepalese society and Buddhist activities. He passed through Tirhut, the territory of the Karnatas. He was accompanied by a Tibetan monk, named I Dan-ma Tshul-Khrims sen-ge, a native of Khams in Tibet. But this monk lost his life in the way because of his seductive habit. In this way Dharmasvamin had to proceed alone. In the way he met a party of three hundred travellers belonging to non-Buddhist faith. They were carrying urns of their deceased ancestors for immersing into the stream of the Ganga river. Among them sixteen men were travelling to visit Bodhagaya for offering oblations to their deceased ancestors.

Dharmasvamin has mentioned of panicky situation through which the Karnata kingdom was passing. He witnessed vigilance squads engaged in preparation for facing the impending dangers of the Turkish menace. However, the Tibetan monk did not stay at Simraon, although he has referred in detail to the physical features of the Karnata palace area of Simaramapattana. He proceeded ahead with the huge carvan of other travellers.

Dharmasavmin at Vaisali

The Tibetan monk visited Vaisali and witnessed panicky situation in the locality. He paid his respectful visit to the Buddhist deity Arya Tara (आर्य तारा). The people of Vaisali were preparing to flee away on account of a rumour of the Turkish invasion. Fortunately the danger passed away and the people returned to normal activity. But from his description of the Vaisali town its fast declining condition is assured. He left Vaisali and proceeded for Vajrasana.

Dharmasvamin Came Across Turkish Soldiers

Dharmasvamin was alone when he left Vaisali. While crossing the Ganga river he came across some Turkish soldiers, who threatened to throw him into the midstream of the river for wealth. But the fellow passengers on the boat persuaded them to spare the monk and thus he was saved. On reaching the other side Dharmasvamin entered the town of Pataliputra during night. He took a burning light in his

hand and hunted after the carvan of travellers. Finally he traced them relaxing in an inn where he also halted and passed the night. Next morning he left the city for Vajrasana.

The city of Pataliputra was in declining stage. The Tibetan monk experienced hardship at this place. No arrangements of township were found by him. It was a neglected place.

Dharmasvamin At Vajrasana

Dharmasvamin spent eight days in reaching Vajrasana from Vaisali. He saw Vajrasana full of life. It was studded with the Buddhist images of gods and goddesses. Religious activities were alive there. Tension between Hinayana (हीनयान) and Mahayana (महायान) sects of Indian Buddhism was at its height. The Tibetan and Ceylonese Buddhist monks were not at good terms. The Hinayanists frequently took interest in ridiculing the Mahayanists. The Hinayanists made fun of the Buddhist text of *Ashtasahasrika-prajnaparamita* (अष्टसाहस्रिकाप्रज्ञापारमिता) in presence of the Tibetan monk. However, Dharmasvamin did not react to their gestures.

In connection with his itinerary of the journey to Vajrasana Dharmasvamin has referred to panicky situation in the way. But the general attitude of the people towards the Buddhist monks was humble. Even a piece of red cloth found on the road was picked up by the children as a mark of reverence, because it was the garb of a mendicant.

Dharmasvamin in Nalanda Rajagriha Area

Dharmasvamin visited Rajagriha and paid his visit to the Griddhrakuta (गृद्ध्रकूट) hill. He has referred to the wild animals around Rajagriha. But this place was humming with life. Buddhist places near it were in flourishing conditions.

However, the situation at Nalanda was pitiable. Some Buddhist monks and scholars were alive to cultivate the old intellectual standard of the place. They were in possession of some important Buddhist manuscripts and images. Among these monks one important Buddhist scholar, named Rahulasribhadra, the contemporary of

the king of Magadha, Buddhasena was residing at Nalanda. Dharmasvamin enjoyed his sympathy. At one stage when the Turkish invaders were ravaging the neighbouring areas of Nalanda, Dharmasvamin saved this octogenarian monk by carrying him on his shoulders to a safe place near Nalanda. Finally the Tibetan monk returned to Nepal via Simaramapattana.

Dharmasvamin at Simaramapattana

Dharmasvamin went to Simarmapattana and fell ill. His books and valuable things were stolen away. Fortunately his life was saved by a Tibetan Buddhist, who was a resident of ITe-U-'ra (a famous Buddhist monastery in Tibet). After his recovery he got an invitation of the Karnata king, named Ramasimhadeva (A. D. 1225-1276), who offered him the post of priest. But Dharmasvamin refused it, because he had to accomplish his personal task in Tibet.

It is an important piece of information that Dharmasvamin greeted the Karnata king with an utterance of the Sanskrit verses. King presented him some amount of gold, a roll of cloth, medicine, rice and other valuable things. In this connection the Tibetan monk has furnished an eye witness account of the royal procession of Ramasimhadeva on the occasion of his annual visit to the streets and roads of the capital. Dharmasvamin proceeded to Nepal.

Dharmasvamin's Stay at Kathmandu : A. D. 1236

On his return Dharmasvamin was received by the wealthy persons and Buddhists of Nepal. One man gave him five ounces of gold which enabled him to procure several Buddhist manuscripts and statues for his personal possession. This shows the scriptural wealth and abundance of Buddhist art in Nepal. These things were important items of trade in the days of natural calamities.

Dharmasvamin received an inviatation from the resident monks of the Yan-dog monastery situated at Nepal-Tibet border. It was the favourite Buddhist resort of the lo-tsa-ba Nag-tsho Tshul-khrims rgyal-ba. The Nepalese Buddhist teacher Ravindra blessed him to visit the place where in A. D. 1040-1041 Dipankara Srijnana Atisa

also chanced to visit and enjoy the reception given by the Tibetan monks and other Buddhists.

Dharmasvamin at Yan-Dog Monastery of Man-Yul : A.D. 1236-1241

The monastic centre of Yan-dog was the birthplace of Nag-Tsho, the well-known interpreter and contemporary of Dipankara Srijnana Atisa. This area was the nucleus of Buddhist culture in west Nepal. G. Tucci and D. L. Snellgrove have done valuable work of survey and research of Buddhist culture of this area. Dharmasvamin stayed here for about five years. During this period he studied the Buddhist doctrine and procured four hundred and five volumes of the Buddhist manuscripts from the Yan-dog people and carried them to Tibet. Important manuscripts were written in golden letters.

Last Days of Dharmasvamin in Tibet : A. D. 1242-1264

Dharmasvamin reached ITe-U-'ra monastery in Tibet. He moved widely and paid his visits to important monasteries of Tibet. He received an invitation from the Dharmaraja 'Phags-pa and his patron Khubilai Khan, the Emperor of Mogolia. However, his busy routine in Tibet did not spare him time to comply with the imperial invitation. He attained *Nirvana* and died in A. D. 1264 in full glory of his social, religious and spiritual height.

Despite his limitations Dharmasvamin may be placed in the line of Fa-hien, Hsuan-chang and Taranatha, who have left memorable travel accounts to the students of history.

CHAPTER IX

A PERIOD OF TRANSFORMATIONS IN NEPALESE BUDDHISM : A. D. 1255-1361

The period from A. D. 1255 to A. D. 1361 is full of potential changes in Nepalese society. Many events occurred during the period both in the fields of natural and man-made crises on the one hand and in domain of peaceful activities like despatch of the Nepalese cultural delegation to China.

An argument in favour of determining periodisation in religious, social or economic history of a country under the framework of political history guided by the reign periods of its ruling personalities or monarchs is generally preferred not only for personal convenience of the authors but also for treating the subject matter in the light of changes noticed or taken into serious consideration by those who examine the political or administrative machineries of a society. Under the present circumstances in the field of history writing in India this problem is frequently made a subject of discussion and suggestions are made to periodise history thematically, although in practice all take delight in following the beaten track. Thus the advocates of periodisation in history according to changes in means of production fail to present a design of it because of their inherent sense of vulgarisation of Marxist methodology or an ugly carricature of it. The reason is obvions. Eeither lack of a scientific study of the writings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung or non availability of sufficient historical documents is the main reason which creates an impediment in the way. However, it has become a fashionable academic topic of discussion among the sophisticated scholars, who enjoy lively debates full of Marxist terminologies and conclude with their original intellectual hypocrisies. In fact, it is better to be a hardliner in this context. At present the reality of non-availability of sufficient historical documents for interpreting social, economic, religious or extra-political currents of history forms the main reason which should be considered an impediment in the

way. Partially mere dovetailing with Marxist methodology has been preferred by them. How far is it proper it is up to the posterity to adjudge the class character of the advocates or authors who take delight in cherishing useful or convenient changes at every turn or crossroad.

In case of Nepalese history the period of transformation has been determined because of the following important events :

1. Natural calamities, earthquake and famine during the reign of Jayadeva (A. D. 1255-1258);

2. Despatch of a cultural delegation of Nepalese artists under the leadership of Aniko (A. D. 1245-1306) during the reign of Jayabhimadeva (A. D. 1258-1271) to the court of Khubilai Khan (A. D. 1215-1294) in A. D. 1265;

3. A series of invasions, internal and external including palace conspiracies such as :

(i) The first Khasiya invasion in A. D. 1287-1288;
(ii) The first Karnata invasion before A. D. 1324;
(iii) Palace conspiracies and fire in A. D. 1311;
(iv) The second Khasiya invasion in A. D. 1313;
(v) The second Karnata invasion in A. D. 1324;
(vi) The third Khasiya invasion in A. D. 1328;
(vii) The invasions of Illyas Shah in A. D. 1346 and A. D. 1349-1350.

SECTION I

Destruction Of Buddhist Monasteries In Earthquake And Death Of Buddhists In Famine

The worst earthquake happened at the end of the reign of Abhayamalla on Monday, 13, June 1255[1]. One third of the population perished in this devastation. Large number of Nepalese and Indian Buddhist monks residing in crowded monasteries died. Several monastic establishments crumbled down to the ground. Buddhist communities suffered considerable loss of property,

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 90.

manuscripts, art and architecture. The *Viharas* mentioned in earlier epigraphic records of Nepal do not occur sufficiently in later historical documents which will mean to have been destroyed in this earthquake. Buddhist activities came to a stand still.

The famine following the earthquake brought multiplied miseries for the people. Among the large number of sufferers the fugitive Indian Buddhists suffered their lot worst. Compelled by these calamities many fled away to Tibet, China and other tans-Himalayan regions. Nepalese Buddhists had their relations with trans-Himalayan regions for a long time in course of trade and commerce. These Buddhists carried much cultural wealth pertaining to Buddhism with them for their maintenance in Tibet and other places. A good number of Buddhist manuscripts brought down by Rahula Sankrityayana from Tibet bear the colophos which refer to the Nepalese Buddhists and rulers and depict dates and places of their composition. This is a testimony to the fact that it was during this period of events and calamities that cultural wealth of Nepal was drained out.

The business communities comprising largely the adherents of Buddhism sank into great financial difficulties due to the earthquake which destroyed their materials and paralysed the sources of production. Artisans and their guilds suffered a lot because of their losses. The famine reduced the purchasing power of the populace of Nepal. The atmosphere of the valley was saturated with hunger, terror and uncertainty. There was a complete dislocation in day-to-day life and activity. Only the laymen Buddhist followers having their vested interests in landed property could remain to face the local situation and started rebuilding their lot.

Jayadeva, the son of Abhayamalla was the king of the valley. He reigned from 7 June A.D. 1255 to 11 January A.D. 1258. No mention has been made by Nepalese historical records about the measures taken by him to meet the natural calamities of the people. It is felt that after the passing away of these calamities Nepalese Buddhist organisations and monastic bodies rose up to the occasion and became active with whatever they possessed to meet the situations.

SECTION II

Despatch Of A Cultural Delegation Of Artists Under The Leadership Of Aniko: A.D. 1261

Scholars like P.C. Bagchi[1] and D.R. Regmi[2] present two different dates of birth of Aniko, respectively A.D. 1243 and A.D. 1236. However, Luciano Petech furnishes a reliable date of birth of Aniko based on the Chinese epigraphic sources, which is A.D. 1245[3]. Bagchi states that Aniko came from an Indian parentage. L. Petech refers to his royal parentage of Nepal which is authentic. His early education was eompleted in Nepal. His real aptitude was to make advance in the field of art, craft and architecture. He acquired many preliminary skills under the guidance of the Nepalese artisans.

In A.D. 1261 king of Nepal, Jayabhimamalla (A.D. 1258-1271)[4] received a request from the Chinese Emperor, Khubilai Khan for despatching a mission of Nepalese artists for rebuilding and restoring some cultural wealth in the city of Peking. That time Aniko was merely sixteen years old. A deadlock on account of his minority came in the way. But an intelligent remark tendered by Aniko convinced the king about his capability when he stated, "I may be young in years but not so in mind."[5] Therefore, immediately he was selected to lead the delegation of Nepalese artists. In regard to desired number of artists amounting to one hundred could not be arranged. Aniko had to proceed ahead with twenty-four Nepalese artists only.

Aniko In The Mongol Empire

Aniko with Nepalese cultural delegation reached Lhasa in A.D. 1361. That time Tibet was an important unit of the Mongol Empire under the great Emperor Khubilal Khan (A.D. 1215-1295)[6]. On the

1. *India and China*, 2nd ed., 1950, Bombay, p. 162.
2. *Ancient Nepal*, p. 52.
3. op. cit., p. 91.
4. Ibid.,
5. P.C. Bagchi, op. cit.; D. R. Regmi, op. cit.
6. E. O. Reischauer and J. K. Fairbank (ed.), *East Asia : The cultural Tradition*, vol. i, 1960, London, p. 272; K. S. Latourette, *The Chinese : The History and Culture*, 3rd ed., revised, 1961, New York, p. 269.

basis of Yu Yuan-an's work entitled *Ch'eng-chi-ssu han chuan* (*A Biography of Chinggis Qaa*)[1], David M. Farquhar, in his learned paper on "Chinese Communist Assessments of a Foreign Conquest Dynasty", has stated that the unification of the Mongols in the 11th and 13th centuries was a historical necessity[2]. But the death of Chinggis was a turning point in Mongolian history. His successors were merely high officials and regarded the territories as their private possessions. Khubilai Khan took delight in wholesale adoption of Chinese political institutions and relied on local Chinese feudal lords in the newly-conquered regions. He has been accused of foreign wars and the wasteful extravagances of the Mongolian ruling class—elaborate Buddhist ceremonies, the building of Buddhist temples, palaces, and falcon coops which soon emptied the treasury and caused price to rise[3].

In his specific treatment of *Buddhism in Chinese History*, Arthur F. Wright has characterised the period from the A.D. tenth century to the A.D. nineteenth century of Chinese history as the period of appropriation, because the imperial power was used with dissolving effects upon the Buddhist pantheon[4]. The state power was used to promote the fusion of popular religions. The Lamaistic Buddhism as an instrument of inner Asian policy was patronised.[5] A young Tibetan Lama known as 'Phags-pa exercised great influence over Khubilai. He had thorough mastery over religious knowledge of the period. He conducted himself proudly, insisting on his equality in rank with the Emperor. Thanks to the mediation of one of Khubilai's wives, the two finally came to an understanding whereby in all spiritual and Tibetan affairs the Lama should take precedence, whilst in all secular affairs of concern to the great Mongol Empire

1. Shanghai, 1955.

2. *History in Communist China*, edited by Albert Feuerwerker, London, 1968. pp. 175-188.

3. Ibid. p. 183.

4. Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1970, pp. 86-107.

5. E. O. Reischauer and J. K. Fairbank, op. cit., pp. 277-278; H. Hoffmann, *The Religions of Tibet*, pp. 136-137; K.K.S. Ch'en, *Buddhism in China: A Historical Survey*, Princeton; 1972, pp. 418-421

the Emperor should be supreme[1]. This kind of division between the the secular and religious activities has not been heard of before. This may be said as the first of its kind in connection with Buddhism which was achieved by a Buddhist monk.

The Emperor had full confidence in the Lama 'Phags-pa. He allowed himself to be received into the Buddhist religion by 'Phags-pa and together with a number of his notables he received the ordination of Hevajra (हेवज्र). He appointed 'Phags-pa 'Imperial Tutor' and was accredited in A. D. 1260 with 'the title of National Mentor or Imperial Mentor.[2] This report is also quite credible, because although for political reasons, the Mongol rulers tolerated and even encouraged all religions including Islamism and Nestorian Christianity they did show a special leaning towards Buddhism.[3] In gratitude for the religious instruction given to him by 'Phags-pa, the Emperor Khubilai Khan gave him and his successors secular jurisdiction over the whole of Tibet. 'Phags-pa obtained the exemption of the monasteries from all taxation and, at the same time, an order to the famous Mongol couriers that henceforth they should no longer use the houses of the Buddhist priests as posting stations[4]. The Lama hailed the Emperor as the *Chakravartin* (चक्रवर्त्ति) ruler. Under his patronage the number of Buddhist establishments, including the great mountain retreats at Mount Wu-t'ai in Shansi, rose to forty-two thousand, with two lack thirteen thousand monks and nuns, a great being Lamaist.[5] The Tibetan Buddhists acted like lords in the Mongol provinces and became symbols of extortion and corruption. They introduced new dances into the Mongol imperial court to please the Emperor.

P. Landon in his book (*Nepal*,vol. ii, 1928, London, pp. 223) states that at Wu-t' ai-Shan there is still a structure remotely resembling the shrines of Bodhanatha and Svayambhunatha and, it does not appear that any other similar shrine is to be found in China proper.

1. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 137-138.
2. Reischauer and Fairbank, op. cit., p. 278; K. K. S. Ch'en, op. cit., p. 419.
3. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., p. 138.
4. Ibid.
5. Reischauer and Fairbank, op. cit., 278; H. Hoffmonn, op. cit., p. 139.

This suggests that Nepalese Buddhist monks had influenced the life and manner of monks at Wu-t'ai-Shan of China. Ahove all several concessions procured in favour of the Buddhist communities living in Tibet under the inspiration of 'Phags-pa became boon for the Nepalese and Indian Buddhists living there. In the wake this panoramic Buddhist regeneration in the Mongol Empire Khubilai took notice of Nepal and persuaded 'Phags-pa to invite a delegation of hundred Nepalese artists to the Chinese capital, Peking.

Work Of Aniko In Tibet And China

While in Tibet in A. D. 1261 Aniko was entrusted with the task of construction of the golden pagoda at Lhasa. He showed his worth in presenting his skill in the field of Nepalese Buddhist style of art. He accomplished his work in A. D. 1263 and impressed the Lama 'Phags-pa. 'Phags-pa took him away to Peking. When Khubilai made an inquiry about the attainments of Aniko in the field of Buddhist art, the latter described his proficiency in designing, modelling and metal-casting.[1] So Aniko was entrusted with some minor works of repair. Aniko pleased the Emperor by repairing several old statuettes in the royal palace and made many Buddhist statues in the monasteries of Peking. Aniko excelled many artists of his time during his long years of stay at Peking. In all his works done during this period Aniko left an imprint of Nepalese Buddhist art and architecture.

Nepalese Buddhist art, therefore, was famous during the A. D. thirteenth century. It was popularity of the Nepalese school of Buddhist art that Aniko was invited. It has been mentioned that among the two groups of classical wall-paintings of Pagan during the period in Burma one belongs to the Nepalese school of Buddhist art. An eminent scholar has remarked that the art tradition of these wall-paintings of Pagan was imported from contemporary Bengal and Nepal.[2] During this period the art tradition of Nepal acquires a new form with an Indian foundation formed on Hindu-Buddhist ideals with which have been assimilated the influences from Tibet and

1. P. C. Bagchi, op. cit., p. 162.
2. N. R. Ray, *Sanskrit Buddhism in Burma*, Calcutta, 1936, p. 92.

China.[1] The Nepalese Buddhist art nourished and enriched by the Newaris in the valley of Kantipura was replete with deep religious appeal which formed a close contact between Nepal and China.

Aniko At The Height Of His Glory :

In A. D. 1274 Aniko was appointed the general director of all the workers in bronze, and in 1278 he was appointed the controller of the imperial manufactures[2]. Aniko had married first a Nepalese woman; but then he followed the customs of the court at which he lived and took a Mongol woman as another chief wife, and seven secondary wives. Besides eight daughters, he had six sons; two of them followed in the official footsteps of their father; but none of them achieved fame.[3] Aniko died on 11 March 1306[4]. A. D. He was cremated in the Nepalese style and was granted the posthumous name of Min-hui and several titles, foremost among which was the title of the Duke of Liang.[5] The tradition of Aniko lasted for a long time among the Buddhist sculptors in China, and is still upheld in the introduction to a late iconometric treatise the *Tsao-hsiang-tu-Liang-Ching*.[6] The real continuator of his school and his chief pupil was the Chinese Liu Yuan.

The above estimated survey of the activities of 'Phags-pa, Aniko and a large number of their contemporary Buddhists is sufficient to remove the misgivings shown by Arthur F. Wright in his appreciation of an observation made by Arnold Toynbee that *Mahayana* is a politically incompetent religion, and we should say that its record in China bears this out[7]. The real ailment of Toynbee's analysis is found in his argument that not all individuals are capable of making history. He believes that the real maker of

1. Percy Brown, 'The Art of Nepal', *JBRS*, vol. xxxi, 1945, p. 20.
2. L. Petech, op. cit., P. 101.
3. Ibid., p. 102.
4. Ibid., P. 101.
5. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, London, 1927, p. 147 ; L. Petech, op. cit., p. 102.
6. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 102.
7. Arthur F. Wright, op. cit., p. 106.

history is the "creative personality", the one who does things ordinary people regard as miracles. He calls these elite "superhumans", "geniuses", "supermen", and "privileged human beings". Great men create civilisations and promote their progress[1]. Indeed Toynbee believed himself to be the Messiah and his gigantic work as a sort of Toynbee Bible[2]. The end of his huge work, however, creates an almost comic impression[3]. Under these circumstances one may also take notices of the comprehensive role played by Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhists, i. e. the *Siddhacharyas*, who had been the vanguard preachers and intellecuals working from the A. D. eighth century to the A. D. twelfth century in eastern India, Nepal and Tibet. Arnold Toynbee had no idea of this characteristic source for an understanding of the complete image of Mahayana and Vajrayana Buddhism. In this connection Y. Kosminsky[4] has observed his intellectual discipline well. Arnold Toynbee's erudition is extremely irregular. As far as the Bible and the history, literature and mythology of the Hellenic civilisation are concerned Toynbee is extremely erudite; this is partly true of the Western civilisation but his knowledge of the others is superficial and irregular and he treats them quite arbitrarily.

SECTION III

A Period Of Internal And External Invasions And Palace Conspiracies : A. D. 1287-1350

(i) The First Khasiya Invasion : A. D. 1287-1288

The first Khasiya invasion was made by the Khasiya king Jayatari (जयतारि). G. Tucci writes that Jayatari used to add a surname of Malla and was thus called Jayatarimalla. At one stroke he invaded the valley twice (December 1287 and January 1288)[5]. He destroyed the cities of Kantipura, Lalitapura and Kirtipura. A

1. Y. Kosminsky, *Professor Toynbee's Philosophy of History*, 1966, Moscow p. 13.
2. Y. Kosminsky quotes the review of Hugh Trevor-Roper.
3. Ibid., p. 41.
4. Ibid., p. 42.
5. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 102

large number of town-dwellers took refuge in hills and forests. Again in February A.D. 1294 Jayatari invaded the valley, burnt down the villages and killed many people with his arrows. But at the same time he visited Svayambhu Chaitya and Bungama Lokesvara (Matsyendranatha) of Lalitapura. He paid his respect to the shrine of Pasupatinatha. In these attacks Buddhist monasteries suffered serious loss of cultural wealth. Jayatarimalla carried many booties from the valley towns to Dullu and decorated his capital with Brahmanical and Buddhist deities. In course of this invasion the Khasiyas came into contact with main current of the history of Nepal. But the valley dwellers were left in panic.

(ii) The First Invasion Of The Karnatas : A. D. 1291-1314

No sooner the tears in the eyes of the valley people dried up than the Karnatas under the leadership of Chandesvara, a minister of Harsimhadeva made an attack over Nepal. This time the invaders made Bhaktapura (भक्तापुर) their focal point of destruction, loot and plunder. They also plundered Lalitapura. From this it appears that the Karnatas were interested in new and undisturbed centre of Nepal, because the Khasiyas had destroyed three towns of the valley. The urban settlement of Bhaktapura was no less valuable than these valley towns. Big business magnates having their close connection with the rising Banepa town and rich agricultural hinterland were living at Bhaktapura. It was a crowded town.

So far as the claims of the historians of Mithila connected with the conquest of Nepal, uprooting the Nepalese kings of the Raghu progeny and performance of the Tula-purusha (तुला-पुरुष) sacrifice on the banks of the Bagmati or Vagvati (बागमती या वग्वती) river in November A. D. 1314 are concerned, are mere tall claims based on isolated local literary adumberations and as such this part of the Karnata adventures has become a comic impression in the garb of research. Like the Khasiya invasion the Karnata attack also was a passing phase without leaving any political influence in the main current of the Nepalese history.

(iii) Palace Conspiracies And Outbreak Of Fire In The Valley : A. D. 1276-1315

During the troubled period of the Nepalese history several crises appeared. The people suffered some losses, although focii of invasions had invariably been over the propertied class including feudatories, royal houses and reputed Buddhist monastic establishments in the valley and neighbouring areas.

On the basis of a stray numismatic evidence it is believed that any Khalji warlord had invaded the valley obviously for extorting wealth from the Buddhist monasteries. L. Petech has plausibly concluded that this passing acknowledgement of overlordship had been only a diplomatic precaution to forestall an invasion by the dreaded conqueror of the Deccan and Southern India.

General conditions of the valley and neighbouring regions were not only embittered by external dangers that passed away but also by internal feuds, palace conspiracies and fighting feudal chiefs for their autonomous status in the political image of Nepal. These petty skirmishes also led to a furious outbreak of fire with the connivance of some local leaders and anti-social elements for creating terror and panic among the supporters of legitimacy. Many private houses, public buildings and Buddhist monasteries perished in it.

In these skirmishes hands of the king Anantamalla (A. D. 1274-1310), Virammadevi, the Yuvarajini (युवराजिनी), the widow of Jayadityadeva (A. D. 1238-1298), her son Jayasaktideva (A. D. 1276-1315), who figured in a palace conspiracy and civil war under the collaboration of the chiefs of Pharping and Navakoth of A. D. 1306, December 13 and also in connection with the Karnata attack of A. D. 1311 when a fire broke out on Sunday, October 24th of that year, had been instrumental[1]. An order, however, was restored after a period of regime of unruly feudal nobles and hill chiefs dovetailing with indecisive political situations of the velley. The strong hands of Jayasthitimalla restored this order under Jayanandadeva (A. D. 1310-1330) and Jayarudramalla.[2]

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 95-105.
2. Ibid., p. 105.

(iv) The Second Khasiya Invasion : A. D. 1313.

The second Khasiya invasion under the leadership of Ripumalla occurred in A. D. 1313. However, this time minor destructions took place. Main desire of the Khasiya invader was to worship the Bungmati Lokesvara (लोकेश्वर) at Lalitapura. Form this ambivalent attitude of the Khasiya chief it appears that the Khasiyas were making raids over the urban settlements of the valley not only for plunders and booties but also for having religious virtues of the Buddhists whom they admired. However, the destroyed shrines were repaired by Jayarudramalla in A. D. 1321.

(v) The Second Karnata Invasion Under The Leadership Of Harasimhadeva A. D. 1324-1325

The political condition of Nepal during the time of the invasion of Harasimhadeva had changed. Jayarudramalla had succeeded in making an exit of Jayanandadeva from the political scene of Nepal. Jayarimalla, the son of Anantamalla was crowned to rule the valley jointly with Nayakadevi (A. D. 1320-1344).[1] In fact the position of Jayarimalla was one of "dignity without power" under the dual regency of administration with its two political centres of gravity situated at Lalitapura and Bhaktapura. In a way, political vagueness of the valley was going out for good changes and an understandable situation of Nepal.

When the situation of Nepal was coming to a settled and peaceful ground of local politics, significant changes were taking place in eastern Indian regions adjacent to the borders of Nepal because of the Muslim invasions. The situation of the Karnatas was passing through hardships. Harasimhadeva was thoroughly dislodged in his ancestral area by the Muslim menace. In pursuit of shelter he with his large number of Karnata professional fighters fled away to Nepal and died there as a refugee, somewhere near Dolakha hilly regions (north-east of Kathmandu) adjacent to present Kodari Rajamarga. Professor. S. H. Askari has brought an unpublished Persian manuscript to light which furnishes a clear

1. L. Petech, op. cit., 109-116.

picture of the situation. The text *Basatin-ul-uns* of Md. Sadr-ula Ahmad Hasan Dabir-i-Idrisi refers to Ghias ud-din Tughlak's expedition to Tirhut and describes the account of the flight of Harasimhadeva. It states about the last Karnata ruler "pale faced and restless like the falling leaves he in the hope of attaining freedom or deliverance, caught hold of the skirt or declivity of the mountain and taking his abode in the central hill thereof (Kamar-i-Koh), concealed himself like *fire in stone*". Above all, the local political condition of the valley had no gap so that the role of the last Karnata king could be adjusted to it. One simple fact is said to have been an introduction of the Brahmanical gooddess Taleju or Tulaja Bhavani (तुलजा भवानी) at Bhaktapura, which, however, had nothing to do with the political current of the history of Nepal. Hence the episode of the Karnata dynasty began in the peremeter of Tirhut or north Bihar and ended there without extension.

(vi) The Third Khasiya Invasion : A.D. 1328

The third and the last Khasiya menace under the leadership of Adityamalla, the son of Jayatarimalla reappeared on 18 February A. D. 1328.[1] He came to Navakoth and after five days he rushed to Pharping where he stayed for twenty-two days. Later he came to Lalitapura on 25 March and exercised his occupation for sometime. It was the last invasion of the Khasiya chief.

During this period politics of Nepal was the scene of confusion because of indecisive personalities, break in succession, fratricidal wars and so on. Out of this confusion emerged Nayakadevi, the minor daughter of Jayarudramalla. She was formally recognised as a princess of Bhaktapura.

An unpublished work *Harischandropakhyana* (हरिश्चन्द्रोपाख्यान) composed by Jayasimhamallavarman (11 February A. D. 1376) refers to two brothers, Harischandra and Gopalachandra, who rushed to the valley kingdom for the exploits of regal claims. Harischandra married the princess Nayakadevi which facilitated the purposes of both, the regal legimacy of wife over the Bhaktapura throne and

1. G. Tucci, op. cit., p. 50; L. Petech, op. cit., p. 113

that of Harischandra at Kantipura. But soon he died on 30 May A. D. 1235 due to poisoning with the connivance of some noblemen.[1] Nayakadevi continued as a dowager queen at the helm of affairs. She was an administrator and had thorough understanding of every fine problem arising out of local conditions.

The *Vamsavali* first of all mentions of one Jagatsimha, who forcibly married Nayakadevi on 25 January A. D. 1341. Jagatsimha, in the opinion of L. Petech was the son of Harasimhadeva of Karnata dynasty. It was an accidental role of events taking place in quick successions because of fast changing situations in the valley that a Karnata member could get an opportunity to enjoy status. But later Jagatsimha was thrown into prison where he died and nothing was heard of him. Only a daughter, Rajalladevi was born to Jagatsimha and Nayakadevi on 7 January A. D. 1347[2] and a few days later Nayakadevi also died. The young orphaned princess was entrusted to her grandmother Devaladevi who controlled the throne of Bhaktapura with her skill. Thus the politics of Nepal passed under the group leaders, aristocracy and feudal lords of the time. Central administration was in oblivion. Society and polity were in melting pot of changing events. The heyday of bureaucracy prevailed upon the people. Internal disunity left the door of Nepal open for any external menace to take place.

During this period of political instability religious organisations got time to switch over their normal activities. Buddhism enjoyed special favours of the middle class bourgeoisie and fighting chiefs, because the community which was dominant in all walks of life during this period was the Newari community. Buddhist monastic establishments repaired their monasteries, rebuilt their libraries and revived their popular festivities. They were again coming to picture in Nepal. Conditions of Tibetan Buddhism were also passing through favourable wind.

(vii) The Invasions Of The Muslim Chief : A. D. 1346, 1346-1350

Political conditions of Nepal during this period were disturbed by many incidents. Jayarimalla was no more on the scene. Throughout

1. L. Petech, pp. 109, 113-116, 132.
2. Ibid., p. 116.

his career he remained a puppet ruler of Lalitapura because of dominant role of the Bhaktapura chiefs operating under the guidance of Nayakadevi. But just at the time preceding the Muslim invasion over the valley even the Bhaktapura regency was undergoing worst sort of confusion. Feudal anarchy was rampant in social and political life of Nepal. A meteoric role of Pasupatimalla appeared first of all about March-April A. D. 1344.[1] But he also was stranded by stormy situations created by the feudal lords Jagarama Mulami and Sahaja Mulami which thwarted his endeavours of grasping the vacant throne of Lalitapura despite his clandestine contact with Aneka Rama Mahatha in A. D. 1346. Ultimately he was imprisoned by Devaladevi in January A.D. 1347 and he died in prison on 3 December A.D. 1348. This was the picture of Nepal.

On the other side of the border Muslim invaders were ravaging the eastern Indian kingdoms. The monarchs of Bihar and Bengal had thoroughly been dislodged. The Karnata kingdom had crumbled down to dust and was now incorporated into the Khilji empire by Shamsuddin Illyas Shah of Bengal.[2] The Sultan Shamsuddin of Bengal, popularly known as Haji Illyas, the reputed founder of the two important towns of north Bihar, Hajipur and Shams-ud-dinpur or Samastipur, extended his conquest to Tirhut and Champaran (the Karnata kingdom), whence he led an expedition to Nepal.

The *Vamsavali* refers to the invasion of Illyas Shah over the valley that in the meantime the Eastern Suratan Samasadina (Sultan Shams ud-din), came to Nepal and broke into three pieces the image of Pasupati; the whole of Nepal was ravaged by fire and the people were unhappy.[3] Two epigraphic evidences of Nepal attest to this literary reference describing the Muslim menace undertaken by Illyas Shah. First is an inscription of Pim Bahal in Lalitapura dated

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp- 117-118

2. K.P. Jayaswal, 'An Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal,' *JBORS*, vol. xxii, 1936, pp. 83-84; J. N. sarkar (ed.), *History of Bengal*, vol. ii, pp. 55, 104: A. Dani, 'Shamsuddin Illyas, Shah-i-Bangalah', *J. N. Sarkar Commemoration Volume*, part ii, Edited by H. R. Gupta, Hoshiarpur, 1958, pp. 50-58; L. Petech, op. cit., p. 119.

3. L. Petech, op. cit.; p. 118.

30 March (Thursday), A.D. 1357[1]. It refers to the repairs of the Buddhist monastery (Pimtha vihar = पिम्थ विहार, papularly known as Pim Bahal), by Mahapatra Sri Meghapalavarman (महापात्र श्री मेघपालवर्मन्). This monastery had been destroyed by Illyas Shah. The second inscription, dated 13 October (Wednesday), A. D. 1372 is the Svayambhu Natha epigraph which refers to the iconoclast Illyas Shah, who invaded the valley, broke down and burnt the *Dharmadhatu-stupa* (धर्मधातु स्तूप), on 23 Navember (Thursday), A.D. 1346.[2] It refers to the commemoration of the restoration of the *stupa* undertaken by Rajaharshamalla Bhalloka (राजहर्षमल्ल भल्लोक) in the reign of Jayarjunadeva(A. D. 1361-1382), when Jayasthitimalla, *Kshatraratnakarendu* (क्षत्ररत्नाकरेन्दु) was protecting Nepal.

However, the throne of Lalitapura was vacant. The regal condition of Bhaktapura was thrown into confusion due to feud between Gopaladeva and Jagatsimha. The complete anarchy into which the country had sunk considerably helped the invader, Illyas Shah. This was the first time that the Muslims succeeded in penetrating the valley. The effect of this invasion was far worse than the raids of the Khasiyas and the Karnatas, who had revered the temples. Indeed the invasion of Illyas Shah contributed, along with the perishability of the building material, timber, to the destruction of large number of monuments of ancient Nepalese architecture.[3] All stalwarts of Nepal, who had been showing their prowess and resolutions of their individual interests preceding the Muslim menace had gone underground on the eve of the appearence of Illyas Shah in the valley. Only when the danger passed away leaving the town in debris of iconoclast destruction the vested interests came out of their internal regal contradictions and slumber.

On the basis of compromise and reconcilation (Ubhaya-rajakula-sanumatena = उभय-राजकुल-सानुमतेन), the two branches of the Malla dynasty descended from Jayasimhamalla and Jayabhimamalla, the sons of Anantamalla, now extinct on the occasion, were brought to

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 118.
2. Ibid., pp. 119; 125-126.
3. Ibid., p. 120.

an understanding with approval of the monks, merchants in lime. light and marshalling officials of realm. Jayarajadeve was made the king of Lalitapura[1].

Jayarajadeva was born on 9 March A.D. 1317 as the son of Jayanandadeva. Three dates of the *Vamsavalis* A.D. 1323, 1332 and 1338 which occur before his accession to the regal status were of his stay-period in his little domain of Palamchock, inherited from his father[2]. During this period he did not play important role. Simply he has been shown to have ruled Lalitapura under the dual regency with Rajalladevi from 27 July A.D. 1347 to A.D. 1361,

Rehabilitations of the town and repairs of the monuments devastated by Illyas Shah were main problems which engaged the the king immediately after his accession to the throne. The treasure-trove of Pasupati Natha had been thoroughly plundered by Illyas Shah. The Muslim invader had equally emptied the treasure-troves of Bodhanatha, Svayambhu Natha and Mababauddha. However, it was the case of Pasupati Natha which was undertaken. Devaladevi, on 20 october A.D. 1347 and Jayarajadeva, on 3 May A.D. 1349 made substantial gifts to the treasure of Pasupati Natha[3]. No care was taken to redress the losses incurred by the Buddhist monuments. The malla rulers were devout Hindus and they were eager only to do everything for the Brahmanical monuments. The Buddhist shrines were dependent solely on the endeavours of merchants and monks and it were they who formed the nuclii of Nepalese Buddhism. All repair works were accomplished by the Buddhist communities. Life of the people was coming back to normalcy. Again the Hindu monuments and Buddhist viharas were humming with life. During this time the Muslim menace under Illyas Shah reappeared on 19 November A.D. 1349 which lasted seven days. The entire vally became the scene of devastation. The religious shrines were desecretd and their treasure-troves were emptied. This time, however the hands of Nepalese feudal lords, officials and other important social elements were active in resisting the continuance of the

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 120.
2. Ibid., p. 121.
3. Ibid., p. 122.

Muslim onslaughts.[1] From now onwards the Muslim invasion was never repeated in history of Nepal, not because of something stupendous in the field of Nepalese defence organisation but because of the rise of Firoze Shah Tughlak (A.D. 1351-1388), who dispossessed Haji Illyas Shah of Tirhut in A.D. 1353-1354.

The Muslim menace passed away for ever. As usual, the work of rehabilitations and repairs was undertaken in the emotion of sacred feelings towards monuments and deities. Debacle of Illyas Shah had ensured the Nepalese Buddhists of a bright future. The changes in political field of Nepal were equally conducive to the growth and development of Buddhist ideas and institutions. The series of invasions of the Khasiya chiefs and the Muslim invaders that preceded opened new vistas of defence, organisation, modes of living and maintenance of institutions for the Buddhists of Nepal. Socio-economic and religious relations changed for the welfare of the Buddhists.

The Nepalese Buddhists experienced frequent disasters for about one hundred years past (A.D. 1255-1350). This long period of adversities not only damaged their monuments and possessions but also impelled them to search for new avenues for their ideological and moral survival in history. Their contacts with trans-Himalayan regions brought blessings for them during bad days. They took shelter in Tibet and preserved their valuable Buddhist scriptures and pieces of art. They had already experienced these types of iconoclast menaces of eastern and northern India and had eye-opening lessons before them. Tibetan ways and manners of living helped much in preservation of the Buddhist cultural wealth. Above all the geographical conditions of Tibet facilitated the physical protection to these cultural heritages of Indian and Nepalese Buddhism,

Changes in Buddhist Religious Organisation

Nepalese Buddhism was both a vehicle for and stimulus to close cultural contacts with the distant areas. This is evident from

1. L. Petech, Ibid.; S. K. Saraswati, 'Shamsuddin Illyas Shah's Invasion of Nepal', *PIHC*, 1956, pp. 207-208; Dhanavajra Vajracharya (ed.), *Itihasa Samsodhana Ko Pramana Prameya* (Nepali), Kathmandu, 1961, pp. 73-79; Pratapaditya Pal, 'The Ancient Shrine of Pasupatinatha, Nepal', *PIHC*, 1961, p. 94.

the Nepalese cultural delegation under the leadership of Aniko (A. D. 1261). 'Phags-pa, the protagonist of the Saskya-pa school of Lamaism[1] exercised effective influences over Nepalese Buddhists who chanced to enjoy the privileges granted by his personal efforts in the Mongol court. The monks of the Saskya-pa school led married life with prior sanction of religious laws and monkhood was hierarchical. This spiritual hierarchy was directly transplanted over the Buddhist religious organisation. The *Bandyas* (Banras), the *Vajracharyas*, *Gubhajus* and *Udasas* formed the Characteristic religious status in organisational hierarchy[2]. The *Bandyas* or *Banras* were the descendants of the Buddhist monks. They led married life. The *Vajracharyas* were the Buddhist tantrics of high order with the *Bhikshus* as their assistants in esoteric rituals of Buddhism. The *Udasas* formed a class of Buddhist monks coming from the merchant community who had been frequently changing their professions as metal-worker, carpenter, stone-worker and so on.

Each one of the Buddhist monk communities served the layman Buddhists on social and religious occasions as priest. In this capacity the Buddhist monk organisation played a parallel role of the Brahmana priests. The Buddhist mendicant order of Nepal combined the features of Lamaism and Indian religious orders including Brahmanical ones. Dress, religious behaviours, manners etc. were different in order of their religious status. Religious hardlines of these Nepalese Buddhist monks within the framework of organisational hierarchy could operate efficiently when practised in Nepal. But outside the country the *Bhikshus* and the *Udasas* lived and mixed together freely. This assisted in removal of several socio-religious internal contradictions. Consequently, the *Vajracharyas* experienced great loss of their social and religious status enjoyed by them hithertofore.

In connection with the hardline religious morality or organisational hierarchy the Buddhists of Nepal made speedy progress in all walks of life. They experienced long period of calamities,

1. H. Hoffmann, op. cit., pp. 135-137.
2. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit., pp. 468-469.

adversities and adventures for their survival beyond Himalayan ranges. They learnt new methods to meet the challenges and their effects during this period of hardline religious hierarchy when practised in Nepal. But on the contrary, the infiltration of the Brabmanical priestly influences with their characteristic liberal appeals wrought softline traits leading to social and religious collaborationism and deadening of speed and competitive enthusiasm among the Nepalese Buddhist mendicant orders.

Political Changes In Nepal

The feudal character of polity and society of Nepal had perpetuated its image successfully during this period. The etymological potency of the word feudalism revolving round its nucleus term 'feud' or 'feuds' operated at its profoundest magnitude during this period. Its clear reflections may be observed in society and polity. The new aristocracy born of commercial or mercantile community assumed a status in politics. The great nobles continued to be all powerful with Aneka Rama still playing the foremost role[1]. Land-holding feudal aristocracy now got a parallel force to be confronted with. Amidst this socio-political balance new regal formation took place with the rise of Jayasthitimalla.

The personality of Jayarajadeva dwindled into unimportance. He could do nothing to lift the sunken fortunes of the Nepalese crown. The Bhaktapura regal family emerged in power and influence. Devaladevi rose up to the occasion. She arranged the marriage of Rajalladevi with Jayasthitimalla (26 September A. D. 1354-February A. D. 1355)[2]. A series of incidents took place following the solemnisation of this eventful marriage. Aneka Rama Mahatha died on 24 July A. D. 1356. Devaladevi died on 18 April A. D. 1366. Jayarajadeva died having been burnt while asleep in A. D. 1361 as attested to by the Svayambhu Nath epigraph of A. D. 1372. Ultimately Jayarjunadeva, the successor of Jayarajadeva came to the throne under the dual regency with Jayasthitimalla. Their joint regency period was from A. D. 1361 to A.D. 1381. Eleven

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 122.
2. Ibid.

historical documents of the reign of Jayarjunadeva furnish his exact regal period from April A. D. 1361 to 3 February A. D. 1382. During the whole period his sovereignty was limited only to a half of the valley with its capital at Lalitapura and the remainder vast one comprising Kantipura and Bhaktapura was under the rising star Jayasthitimalla. A continuous long-drawn struggle between the rival rulers surrounded by feudal lords and nobles came to a stage when Jayasthitimalla got major support and entered the royal palace of Lalitapura on 3 March A. D. 1372 and controlled the entire realm under the formal suzerainty of Jayarjunadeva. Stalwart marshalling feudal lords were crushed and demoralised. In between these events some limited discontent and trouble followed but were suppressed. Jayasthitimalla emerged victorious on all fronts of trials. With the death of Jayarjunadeva on 3 February A. D. 1382, Jayasthitimalla was formally recognised as the legitimate king of Nepal on 15 September A. D. 1382[1].

During this period despite battles, conspiracies and scandalous events of changes literary activities continued. Colophons of several literary manuscripts of the period are testimonies to the non-political achievements of Nepalese scholars. A parallel stream of social awakening on a limited scale was flowing in Nepal which is evident from the roles of women. Personalities of Devaladevi, Nayakadevi and Rajalladevi are but reflections of the rising role of women in Nepalese society. This particular trend in Nepalese society is the direct impact of the Buddhist concept of polity and society. The Charumati vihara of the Chavel area of Kantipura was rendering valuable services to the Nepalese women. They were occupying parallel importance in society. A large number of the hilly tribes were enjoying the virtues of their incipient matriarchal social ideals. The Buddhist social ideals in this respect became blessings for them and as such Buddhism suited best to their cherished social traditions.

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 130.

CHAPTER X

A PERIOD OF BRAHMANICAL PURGE OF BUDDHISM : A. D. 1382-1395

The rise of Jayasthitimalla under the dual regency with Jayarjunadeva in A. D. 1361 marked a turning point in the history of Nepalese Buddhism. He undermined the legitimate authority of his co-ruler over the throne by killing good number of his supporters at Lalitapura. He crushed the pro-Jayarjuna feudal lackeys and aristocracy. He thrust his ideals of authoritarian rule over the machinery of administration and cleared his way leading to the royal authority at Bhaktapura. This is evident from the utter silence and passive attitude of Jayarjunadeva towards general disturbances witnessed by him in course of his pilgrimage to the regions of Banepa and Gokarna. Certainly these disturbances were not because of secular activities of Jayasthitimalla but because of his religious fanaticism or prejudices against the popular cults of Buddhism.

In fact the people as a whole had little share in political interests of the ruling houses. Political programmes and crafts of administration were the concerns of landlords clustering round the crown. Common people were eager to safeguard their religious interests which were their characteristic media of expression of their feelings. Militant Brahmanical policy of Jayasthitimalla had infringed the sentiments of the vested interests of the Buddhist communities. Disturbanees, therefore, were mere grumbles of the frustrated Buddhists of the regions infested by the Brahmana priests.

The death of Jayarjunadeva in A. D. 1382 sealed the doors of toleration in religious life of Nepal. As a matter of fact he was an innocent man. The vast historical conflagration which had started with the rise of the personality of Jayasthitimalla was beyond the control of Jayarjunadeva. The destiny of the realm remained

plausibly in the hand of Jayasthitimalla, who with the help of the dictates of his conscience started a campaign for stemming the progress of Buddhism. He diagnosed the socio-religious situations and found that the rich Buddhist establishments with their feudalistic managements and characteristic disinterests towards local affairs had been important factors for external invasions over the valley. In this connection he was also prejudiced by the rising Brahmanical priests who had not forgotten their sufferings under the heyday of the Buddhists.

However, Jayasthitimalla had separate strokes of genius in his personality. He envisaged resistance from the dominant Buddhist communities of Nepal. It was not an easy task to annihilate the deep-rooted religious and social traditions. The Buddhists of Nepal had control over trade and commerce of the realm. Majority of artisans and elite sections were the adherents of Buddhism. Anything in the name of transformation or change was possible not by incurring abhorrence of an enlightened society but by winning their co-operation. It was possible through a programme of reforms which were launched by Jayasthitimalla with caution and preparations.

SECTION I

Economic Transformation

(i) Codification of Nepalese Traditions in the Brahmanical Farme A. D. 1382-1395

Jayasthitimalla emerged as the sovereign king of Nepal in A. D. 1382. He had experienced troubles under the dual regency with Jayarjunadeva. He had successfully crushed several centrifugal elements including feudal lords and hill tribal chiefs. In all these confrontations he detected a serious factor which was an impediment in his sovereign rule. It was the lack of a written or decisive constitution or code of traditions committed to social and political system of the time. Whatever the traditions present in Nepalese society were guided by the strong Buddhist communities. Characteristic ideals of decentralised administration were being

practised. Local self government with its evils was popular all over Nepal. Trade guilds played decisive role in matters of administration. Parallel to these ideals of decentralisation were running the currents of oligarchy in the fields of dynastic rule. Big landlords, feudals and hill tribal chiefs were the lackeys of weak kings. No strong sense of unity was there which is evident from the cowardice of the local leaders who always fled away to neighbouring forests and hills on the occasions of external invasions. Evils of local system or government without strong centre were main reasons which had led to the decline of a patriotic zeal. In the field of trade and commerce barriers of tariffs, weights and measures, local currencies also played important roles in creating disintegration and loss of unity.

Therefore, it was a tall task before Jayasthitimalla to present a well-defined code of social, economic and political traditions which may keep different groups together and may create a sense of reverence towards the sovereign position of the ruler or the king. He invited five orthodox Brahmana scholars representing different schools of Brahmanical traditions of the time to survey and codify a comprehensive document of Nepalese traditions for the purpose. A committee of these five scholars was formed. These scholars were Ramanatha Jha and Raghunatha Jha Maithili, Kirtinatha Upadhyaya Kanyakubja, Srinatha Bhatta and Mahinatha Bhatta[1]. From this list of five orthodox Brahmana scholars at least three sets of Brahmanical traditions of the time came to picture. They are the Maithila traditions covering the regions of eastern India, the Kanyakubja traditions covering the regions of northern India and the Bhatta traditions of south India. So far as the Maithila and Kanyakubja traditions are concerned they are self explanatory, because large number of maithila and non-Maithila Brahmanical members had already settled in Nepal due to the proselytising zeal of the Karnatas and their predecessor Sena rulers of Bihar and Bengal. Traditions of Kulinism had spread up in Nepal in the wake of the proselytising zeal of the Senas. The Bhatta Brahmanas had migrated to Nepal because of Sankaracharya, who had posted

1. S. Levi, op. cit., vol. i, p. 229; D. Wright, op. cit., p. 110; L. Petech, op. cit., p. 139; D.R. Regmi, *Medieval Nepal*, Part i, p. 641.

them to worship the Saiva shrines of Nepal, specially the deity of Pasupatinatha. However, these three traditions had no proper co-ordination among themselves. Even if these traditions existed there for their separate interests they had little to perform secular task. It was Jayasthitimalla who first of all persuaded them to codify these traditions for strengthening the socio-political fabric of Nepal. The code which emerged in this way was named the *Nepalarashtra Satstra* (नेपालराष्ट्र शास्त्र)[1].

(ii) Town Planning : A Meticulous Classification of Urban Houses

Jayasthitimalla appointed a good number of officers to survey the dwelling houses of the valley. All streets and lanes were determined into three parts[2] : (i) Sahara (town), (ii) Galli (houses on sides of lanes), (iii) Galli-Bhitra (houses in interior parts of lanes). Among them the best houses were classed to have eighty-five cubits of perimeter. The second class houses were measured to have ninety-five cubits of perimeter.

This classification created clear division among the traditional Nepalese society accustomed formerly to enjoy a Buddhist pattern of living with minimum material encumberances pertaining to land and house. Jayasthitimalla successfully exploited these new problems so created by his scheme of housing.

(iii) Land Reform : Survey and Assessment

Land was the vital source of income for the state and of livelihood for the majority peasant community of Nepal. Naturally this became the primary concern for Jayasthitimalla. He classified it in four categories according to quality of soil and cultivability.[3] The best land having good level and approach to water was brought under a ceiling of ninety-five cubits in perimeter. The second class had a ceiling of one hundred nine cubits of perimeter. The third class land had a ceiling of one hundred twelve cubits of perimeter. And the fourth one had a ceiling of one hundred twenty-five cubits of perimeter.

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 129 fn.
2. D. Wright, op. cit., p. 110.
3. Ibid., p. 111.

Before the advent of Jayasthitimalla on the political scene of Nepal land was measured with a bamboo staff of ten and a half cubits long. It was reduced by Jayasthitimalla to seven and a half cubits long. This change in survey and assessment of land shows that population of Nepal had increased to a bigger size than before because of large scale migration of Indian Buddhists from south and to some extent Tibetan Buddhists from north.

In course of land reform and new housing scheme undertaken by Jayasthitimalla two new officials came to light—the Takshakaras (तक्षकार) concerned with survey of the houses and the Kshetrakaras (क्षेत्रकार) concerned with survey of land. These officers were selected out of those families who were close to the ruling dynasties of Nepal. They formed hierarchy and finally consummated into a social order or caste recognised by the early Indian Smriti texts. These divisions of houses, land plots and officials led to new social and legal formations based on the Brahmanical scriptures. These developments facilitated the task of the Brahmanical purge of Nepalese Buddhism undertaken by Jayasthitimalla. An interesting summary of similar developments in the field of administrative structure of Nepal has been made by L. Petech.[1]

SECTION II

A Social Transformation Through the Brahmanical Caste System

The scheme of caste system undertaken with the specific motive to purge the Buddhist society of Nepal was the volume control of socio-religious reforms visualised by Jayasthimalla. He presented a network of sixty-four castes based on occupational characteristics of different families or social strata. This list of sixty-four castes was revised by S. Levi who presented another re-arranged list of forty-seven castes.[2]. An elaborate study of the caste system has been made also by K. P. Chattopadhyaya[3]. Earlier British scholars such as B. H. Hodgson, F. Hamilton and H. A.

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 173-177.
2. S. Levi, op. cit., vol. i, pp. 232-236.
3. K. P. Chattopadhyaya, op. cit.

Oldfield discussed a lot over this propblem. Later L. Petech treated this subject with latest sources in his possession[1]. Yet no satisfactory study of the caste system could be furnished by them. All these scholars have simply re-arranged and summarised the lists discovered and studied by Hodgson, Wright or Levi. In fact these lists also suffer from mistakes due to their ignorance of the idiosyncracies of the Nepalese society.

An interesting account of the caste system implemented or revived by Jayasthitimalla has been presented by D. R. Regmi.[2] In fact Jayasthitimalla did not create a new caste system. He is to be credited only with the work of its revival based on the Hindu *Dharmasastra* (धर्मशास्त्र). Moreover the legal experts who took trouble to codify the *Nepalarashtra Sastra* (नेपालराष्ट्रशास्त्र) were staunch Brahmanas representing their contemporary social traditions in different regions of India.

As a matter of fact it is not a fact that the Buddhist society of Nepal was purely casteless or classless. Nepalese Buddhists had specialised in a large number of occupations for their survival. In this connection no original social change can be observed. The process of evolution of profession based Buddhist society and its further proliferation in different economic activities is not different from the *Varna* system analysed in several legal texts of the Brahmanical society. The real character of the Nepalese Buddhist society was its complete departure from the Brahmanical ideals of untouchability. At this stage it adhered to the highest ideal of humanity originally forwarded by the Buddha himself. But as was natural with further economic formations in Indian society leading to class ridden social stratification under the Guptas so also happened in the Nepalese Buddhist society where many internal contradictions emerged as a consequence of different economic status of the Buddhists. In this connection the characteristic development of Buddhist society in Nepal may be jusfied on the basis of an observation made by G. M. Trevelyan that social change moves like an

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 181-189.
2. D.R. Regmi, op. cit., pp. 641-686.

underground river, obeying its own laws or those of economic change, rather than following the direction of political happening that move on the surface of life. Politics are the outcome rather than the cause of social change[1]. Town planning and land reforms undertaken afresh by Jayasthitimalla did not drop down from void. They were products of existing social system of Nepalese Buddhist society. In pre-Jayasthiti Nepal there were some economic differences in society which led to formations of classes of Buddhist social structures both in the laity and the Bhikshus[2]. Jayasthitimalla launched his Brahmanical caste system over these social divisions of Buddhist community and thus transformed the so-called traditional universality claimed by the Buddhists of Nepal into local social groups.

The Brahmanical ideals of caste and marriage transcended the mysterious social orders of the monastic life. The Buddhist Bhikshus were impelled to refute their superfluous celibate life already defamed because of their sexo-yogic practices. The four classes of Buddhist Bhikshus which came into picture in this connection were those of the Vajracharyas (वज्राचार्य), the Brahmacharya Bhikshus (ब्रह्माचार्य भिक्षु), the Sakya Bhikshus (शाक्य भिक्षु) and the Chailakas (चैलक)[3]. In this connection some Buddhist Bhikshunis were favoured by ruling community. The wife of Madanasimharama (मदनसिंहराम) was a former Buddhist Bhikshuni[4].

The changed caste system was based on the four *Varna* pattern with several subcastes[5]. In the first *Varna* was included the priestly class both Hindus and Buddhists of Nepal. The second *Varna* consisted of the warriors and officials belonging mainly to the feudal society. It was close to the ruling dynasty enjoying many privileges. The third *Varna* was constituted out of the traders and merchants belonging to the Newari society. It was the hub of the Nepalese intelligentsia. It were they who always took lead in carrying the

1. G. M. Trevelyan, *Illustrated Social History of England* vol. i, Longmans, Green, London, 1960, p. 14.
2. D. R. Regmi, op., cit., pp. 656-658.
3. Ibid., pp. 656-658.
4. Ibid., p. 659.
5. Ibid., p. 655.

cultural heritage of Nepal to Tibet, China and other trans-Himalayan regions. Lastly, there were the artisans, peasants and other craftsmen who formed the fourth *Varna*. The untouchables of Nepal were like the Antyajas (अंत्यज) of the Brahmanical social order of India. They were to perform unclean duties such as removing night soil, dirt, garbage etc. Above all, there were many hill tribes living outside the pale of this cast system. They were treated as uncivilised people by the Brahmanas. However; the Buddhists of Nepal regarded them as cultured people and mixed with them in course of their proselytising zeal of Buddhist propaganda. Buddhist viharas and temples had been erected among the settlements of the Nepalese hill tribes.

SECTION III

Implementation of the Programmes of Social Reforms by Jayasthitimalla

Early in the ninth century A. D. Sankaracharya and his followers had given serious blow to the Nepalese Buddhist society. A way was opened for the Hindu section of Nepalese population for the revival of Hinduism in the valley. Later developments in Buddhism of Nepal resulted as Tantrayana (तंत्रयान), Vajrayana (वज्रयान), Kalachakrayana (कालचक्रयान) and Sahajayana (सहजयान). With these Buddhist sects adhering to sexo-yogic ideals the Nepalese society obviously suffered from moral and ethical lapses.

(i) Nepalarashtra Sastra (नेपालराष्ट्रशास्त्र)

Jayasthitimalla changed the elaborate structure of social system of the Nepalese Buddhists by a loosely codified scheme enshrined in the Nepalarashtra Sastra (नेपालराष्ट्रशास्त्र). He performed several dramas based on the Brahmanical themes. His court life became the scene and centre of cultural activities open to all.

(ii) Social Acculturation Through the Performances of art and Drama

A drama based on the life of Rama (राम) was played in A. D. 1367 on the occasion of the birthday celebration of the son of Jayasthitimalla, named Jayadharmamalla.[1] Ten years later, in A.D.

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 139.

1377, a drama entitled the *Bala Ramayana* (बालरामायण) composed by Rajasekhara (राजशेखर) was performed on the initiation ceremony of Jayasthitimalla.[1] One year after the inauguration of Jayasthitimalla's soverign rule over the Malla kingdom, the drama entitled the *Abhinava Raghavananda Nataka* (अभिनव राघवानन्द नाटक), composed by Manika (मणिक) was played at the Malla court, Bhaktapura.[2]. H. P. Sastri has pointed out that Cecil Bendall in his Cambridge catalogue of Nepalese manuscripts mentions a four act *Ramayana* (रामायण), entitled the *Ramanaka Nataka* (रामणक नाटक) composed in A. D. 1360 by Dharma Gupta, the son of Ramadasa (रामदास) was played at the court of Lalitapura. This drama was composed by Dharma Gupta when he was young and his father Ramadasa was alive. He composed it for the pleasure of his father and as was common with an yonng aspirant of literary fame, Dharma Gupta displayed his high-sounding titles of *Vidyarnava* (विद्यार्णव) and *Bala Vagisvara* (बाल-वागीश्वर) after his name as author.[3] This piece of information that this drama was played four times within the period of forty years of rule of Jayasthitimalla shows its popularity in Nepalese society.[4] H. P. Sastri has further mentioned that *Bhairavananda Natakam* (भैरवानन्द नाटकम्) composed by Manika (मणिक), the son of Rajavardhana (राजवर्धन), who, by the boon of Natesvara (नटेश्वर), was an expert of dramaturgy.[5] Certainly this drama was popular in this period. The hero, being the Bhairava, a yogi and the heroine Madanavati (मदनावती), a celestial damsel created by a *Rishi* (ऋषि) became a Manushi (मानुषी).[6] The subject-matter of this drama attracted the general public on large scale to observe it.

(iii) Emulation of an Ideal Hindu Despot and Assumption of Highsounding Epithets

Jayasthitimalla had been eulogised by his court dramatist Manika (मणिक) as the Daitya Narayana (दैत्यनारायण) and the Asura

1. L. Petech, pp. 139-140.
2. Ibid., p. 140.
3. H. P. Sastri, op. cit., vol. i, Intr. p. xxxviii.
4. Ibid., Intr. p. xxxiv.
5. Ibid., p. xxxix
6. Ibid., p. xxxvii.

Narayana (असुर नारायण).[1] The role of the Saivite saints, Sivadasa Upadhyaya (शिवदास उपाध्याय) and Dvijaraja Upadhyaya (द्विजराज उपाध्याय) had been remarkable at the court of Jayasthimalla.[2] It was Sivadasa Upadhyaya who had given religious initiation to Jayasthitimalla and his queen Rajalladevi on 5 May A. D. 1380. Although the king was a devotee of Siva, his protecting goddess was Manesvari ((मानेश्वरी).[3] This goddess was the house-deity (गृहदेवी) of Jayasthitimalla. Jayasthitimalla was also inclined to the worship of Pasupatinatha and the Vishnu, the Changu Narayana (चंगु नारायण) to whom he paid his homage in A. D. 1381. He along with his wife Rajalladevi had turned up to worship goddess Lakshmi. In A. D. 1383 Jayasthitimalla dedicated his offering to Pasupatinatha. In this way during the last few years of his life he became a tolerant ruler and discontinued to offend the religious conscience of the Nepalese Buddhists. A year after the death of his wife Rajalladevi he also took part in the famous Rathayatra (रथयात्रा) of Avalokitesvara of Nepal and visited the Bungmati vihara and Bunga of Patana in A. D. 1387.

A reflection of the Brahmanical revival was present not only in the fields of the caste system, drama and other social activities but also in art and sculpture of the period. During the reign of Jayasthitimalla who reigned for forty years foundations of art style were laid down and it was at this stage that the Indian Brahmanical influence was strongest. This period of the Malla kings has been called the golden age when under their patronage the finest art was developed in Nepal[4].

SECTION IV

Visits of the Chinese Buddhists to the Court of the Rama Family at Banepa : A. D. 1384-1391

An interesting episode relating to exchange of missionaries between Nepal and China during the peak period of Hindu revival

1. L. Petech, op. cit., p. 140.

2. *The Gopala Vamsavali* (गोपालवंशावली), vol. iii, ff59 a, 63 b (Sibadasa Upadhyaya died on 25 June A. D. 1387).

3. D. R. Regmi, op. cit., vol. iii, Inscription No. xxxv, p. 33.

4. Percy Brown, 'The Art of Nepal', *JBRS*, vol. xxxi, parts i and ii, 1954, p. 18.

and Brahmanical purge of Nepalese Buddhism has been presented by L. Petech[1]. During the reign of Madana Rama (A. D. 1382-1394) an exchange of Buddhist missionaries between Nepal and China took place for starting diplomatic relations. The Chinese emperor Tai-Tsu of the Ming dynasty dispatched a cultnral delegation in A. D. 1384 under the leadership of an eminent Chinese Buddhist monk, Chih-Kuang[2]. A sealed imperial letter and some pieces of coloured silk were presented to Madana Rama. Chih-Kuang also gave a learned talk on Chinese Buddhism at the court of Madana Rama.

In A. D. 1387-1388 Madana Rama sent a delegation of the Nepalese Buddhist scholars to the Chinese emperor Tai-Tsu with several presents including some beautiful models of golden stupas (pagodas) made by the Nepalese Buddhist artists, some Nepalese Buddhist manuscripts and some horses of Nepal. The Chinese emperor was glad to receive these things. In return he also presented a silver seal, a signet of jade, letters of patent, pennants, a control document in two parts and coloured silk to Madana Rama. This shows that the Buddhists of Nepal were in regular contact with the Chinese Buddhists.

In A. D. 1391 Madana Rama again sent a Nepalese delegation on the occasion of the celebration of New year's imperial festival at the court of the Chinese emperor Tai-Tsu. However, this time the Nepalese envoys did not carry presents. Yet they were shown special favour by the Chinese imperial staff. The Nepalese envoys received a piece of printed silk, a silken robe and some documents in addition to six pieces of printed silk, a private jade seal and an umbrella of red gauze.

Articles of gifts exchanged in course of the visits of the Sino-Nepalese Buddhist missionaries indicate a highly developed stage of trade and industries pertaining to silk products, metal work and manufacture of Buddhist art commodities. Buddhist culture was a living social and religious force in Nepal and China. During the peak period of Hindu revival undertaken by Jayasthitimalla in

1. L. Petech, op. cit., pp. 145-154, 201-211.
2. Ibid., pp. 201-204.

Nepal, Nepalese Buddhists got moral support from China. The Nepalese Buddhist art products had suitable market in China which is evident from the popularity of the models of Buddhist stupas made in Nepal. Certainly Nepal developed an encyclopaedic cultural sample in Asia beeause of its contacts with the trans-Himalayan regions. Several Buddhist monasteries of Nepal had been built out of outside funds or financial assistance collected by the Buddhists belonging to the Newari society.

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